

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD at the University of Warwick

Permanent WRAP URL:

<http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/97559>

Copyright and reuse:

This thesis is made available online and is protected by original copyright.

Please scroll down to view the document itself.

Please refer to the repository record for this item for information to help you to cite it.

Our policy information is available from the repository home page.

For more information, please contact the WRAP Team at: wrap@warwick.ac.uk

James Shirley and the Restoration Stage

By

Stefania Crowther

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Renaissance Studies

University of Warwick, Centre for Renaissance Studies
June 2017

Acknowledgements

This thesis was supported by the James Shirley Complete Works Project, and funded by the AHRC, and Centre for Renaissance Studies, University of Warwick. I would like to thank these organisations, and in particular Jayne Browne, Ingrid de Smett, David Lines, Jayne Brown, Heather Pilbin, Paul Botley, and especially Elizabeth Clarke and Paul Prescott for their very helpful guidance during the upgrade process. Special thanks are due to Hannah Davis, whose URSS project on Restoration Shirley, supervised by Teresa Grant, provided the starting point for this thesis. I am also enormously grateful to the colleagues, friends and tutors who have inspired and supported my work: Daniel Ashman, Thomasin Bailey, Stephen Clucas, Michael Dobson, Peter Foreshaw, Douglas Hawes, Simon Jackson, Victoria Jones, Griff Jameson, Peter Kirwan, Chris Main, Gerry McAlpine, Zois Pigadas, Catherine Smith, Lee White, Susan Wiseman. My most particular and humble thanks are due to Lois and Simon Reynolds, for their unwavering belief in my ability to do this, and for tirelessly proof read every page. Any mistakes that remain are mine alone.

I am grateful to Steven Purcell and Lucy Munro for their extremely helpful and encouraging feedback, and for a giving me the opportunity to defend my thesis in a very supportive and enjoyable viva voce.

I would like to the thank the staff at the I have visited to consult resources, the British Library; UCL Library; Senate House Library, University of London; Harvard Library; Library of Congress, Washington DC; the Brotherton Library, Leeds; the Bodleian and Worcester College Libraries, Oxford.

‘Congratulations’, ‘How far along are you?’ ‘When is the big day?’ ‘Are You Nervous?’ These were questions I regularly heard as my submission deadline approached. Seldom were these questions about my thesis, however, but the two pregnancies I enjoyed along the way. I am incredibly lucky to have had such an understanding supervisor, Teresa Grant, who willingly held

supervision meetings across a table from a sleeping baby, generously passed on baby clothes and accessories, and offered the support that made it possible to combine academia and new motherhood. I equally could not have completed this without the support of my wonderful parents, Rosanna and Alan Crowther, who have cared for me and my children while I concentrated on this.

Finally, I thank Ryan, for his endless patience, and for asking me 'why?' twenty times a day for a year, until I started to ask myself the same question, and I started to ask it of my research. And Orson, for teaching me that above all, we like to play. This thesis would not exist without them and the man who cares for them and me and brightens my world, Joshua Gilvary.

For my uncle Mark, who set me off down this road.

I will always be grateful.

Contents

Acknowledgements	3
Table of Contents	7
List of Illustrations and tables	8
List of Abbreviations	8
Abstract	9
Section I:	
Chapter 1: Was James Shirley a Part of Restoration Theatre?	11
Section II: Stage to Page	
Chapter 2: Restoration Editions of Shirley's Plays	47
Chapter 3: Case Study <i>The Grateful Servant</i>	80
Chapter 4: Case Study <i>The Constant Maid</i>	124
Section III: Metatext and Intertext	
Chapter 5: <i>The Court Secret</i> in manuscript and print	161
Chapter 6: Before the fourth Wall: Performers and Prologues	199
Section IV: Page to Stage	
Chapter 7: Restoration Promptbooks	209
Chapter 8: 'My Soule is Full of Shame and Tears': <i>Love's Cruelty</i> and <i>The Sisters</i>	247
Chapter 9: Malone 253 <i>The Ball</i> and <i>The Witty Fair One</i>	290
Section V	
Chapter 10: Gresham's Law	314
Bibliography	338

List of Illustrations and tables

Figure 1: Performances of Shirley's Plays 1659 – 1675	29
Figure 2: Library of Congress promptbook of <i>The Grateful Servant</i>	122
Figure 3: Cover pages of <i>The City Night Cap</i> and <i>Love Will Find Out the Way</i> , 1661	127
Figure 4: <i>The Witty Fair One</i> : Scene plot	295
Figure 5: <i>The Ball</i> : Scene plot	296
Figure 6: <i>The Witty Fair One</i> : Backshutter / relieve change diagram	301
Figure 7: <i>The Ball</i> : Backshutter / relieve change diagram	302
Figure 8: From Bodleian Malone 253 [9] <i>The Ball</i>	303

List of Abbreviations

BDA Biographical Dictionary of Actors

ESTC English Short Title Catalogue

ODNB Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

Note on the Text

While old spellings have been reserved in quotations, the letters i/j and u/v have been silently amended.

Abstract

James Shirley is a distinctly Caroline playwright: his first play was performed in the year of Charles I's coronation, 1625, and his last the year of the outbreak of civil war in 1642. Yet his importance extends beyond the era in which he worked as a professional playwright. As one among a handful of dramatists whose work was staged regularly by the new playing companies after the theatres reopened in 1660, he is an important figure in the development of new modes of theatre. Despite having had more of his plays produced on the Restoration stage than Shakespeare did, scholarship on his significance to Restoration drama has been remarkably scant. This thesis investigates the significance of Shirley in the Carolean period, tracing the adaptations of Shirley throughout the reign of Charles II. It uses Shirley as a case study to investigate transitions in theatrical practice before 1642 and after 1660, paying attention also to the continuities. This thesis asks why Shirley's plays were considered suitable by the managers of the Restoration theatre companies who staged them: the King's Company under Sir Thomas Killigrew, the Duke's Company under Sir William Davenant, George Jolly's 'Nursery' group, performing at Hatton Garden, and the Red Bull Players, an illegal, pre-Restoration group. It also explores the ways in which Shirley's plays were adapted in response to the changed social and political climate after 1660, including textual amendments made and the addition of new prologues. It concludes by asking why Shirley's reputation declined so sharply in the long eighteenth century while Shakespeare's came to pre-eminence, by comparing the Restoration treatment of his plays with those of Shakespeare.

Section I:

Chapter 1: Was James Shirley a Part of Restoration Theatre?

JAMES SHIRLEY the most noted drammatick Poet of his time ... When the rebellion broke out, and he thereupon forced to leave *London*, ... After the King's cause declined he retired obscurely to *London*, where, among other of his noted friends, he found *Tho. Stanley* Esq. who exhibited to him for the present. Afterwards following his old trade of teaching School, which was mostly in the *White Fryers*, he not only gained a comfortable subsistence (for the acting of plays was then silenced) but educated many ingenious youths, who afterwards proved most eminent in divers faculties. After his Majesties return to his Kingdoms, several of his plays which he before had made, were acted with good applause, but what office or employ he had confer'd upon him after all his sufferings, I cannot now justly tell.¹

He afterwards returned to London, where he resumed his old profession as a [schoolteacher] to this he adhered for the remainder of his life ... even after the Restoration.²

[U]pon the decline of the King's cause Shirley crept back quietly to England, ... to eke out a livelihood he had to take up the old distasteful

¹ Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses: An Exact History of All the Writers and Bishops who Have Had Their Education in the University of Oxford*, 4 vols (London: F. C. & J. Rivington, 1813), vol. 3, p. 737. First published 1691-2.

² Adolphus William Ward, *A History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne*, (London: MacMillan & Co, 1875), pp. 310-11.

business of a schoolmaster... At the Restoration Shirley's plays were once more set upon the stage, but they were found to be old-fashioned.³

AFTER eighteen brilliant years as dramatist to court and public, Shirley, at the age of forty-six, entered upon the closing period of his career --a quarter century of anticlimax: cavalier, schoolmaster, literary drudge.⁴

Following Anthony Wood's account, biographers of Shirley have made a habit of assuming that Shirley's life after the closure of the theatres in 1642 was one of obscurity, with no connection to the theatrical community of which he had once been an intrinsic part. Arthur Huntington Nason, in particular, implies that after the civil war Shirley led a life of quiet retirement, as a schoolteacher, without a continued relationship with the theatre. He describes the period from 1642-1666 as Shirley's 'post-dramatic period'.⁵ Alexander Dyce claims 'there is every reason to believe that he pursued this honourable employment [teaching], in easy though not affluent circumstances, till the termination of his life.'⁶ Forsythe dismisses the suggestion made by Charles Kingsley that Shirley was active as 'a court poet of Charles II'.⁷ G. E. Bentley muses, 'one wonders whether Shirley had any ideas about reviving dramatic activities similar to

³ Edmund Gosse (ed.), *The Best Plays of the Old Dramatists: James Shirley* (London: Mermaids, 1888), 'Introduction', pp. xxvi-xxvii.

⁴ Arthur Huntington Nason, *James Shirley, Dramatist: A Biographical and Critical Study* (New York, 1915; reprinted New York, Benjamin Blom, 1967), p. 136.

⁵ Nason, *James Shirley*, p. 8.

⁶ Alexander Dyce, 'Some Account of Shirley and his Writings', in William Gifford and Alexander Dyce (eds) *The Dramatic Works and Poems of Shirley*, 6 vols, (London: John Murray, 1833) iii-lxvi, p. xlv.

⁷ Robert Stanley Forsythe, *The Relations of Shirley's Plays to the Elizabethan Drama* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1914), p. 28. Charles Kingsley made the suggestion that Shirley was a court poet in *Plays and Puritans* (London and New York, MacMillan, 1889), p. 13.

Davenant's but lacked the energy to carry them through'.⁸ Nicholas McDowell refers to Shirley as a 'former professional playwright' in those years.⁹ While not inaccurate, the phrase implies a complete stop to Shirley's career as a dramatist in 1642. This thesis challenges those assumptions, and offers evidence to suggest that although Shirley did not write any new plays for the professional stage, he may have been more actively involved with updating his existing plays than has previously been thought. Shirley's plays were a staple feature of the Restoration theatrical repertoire until just after his death in 1666, and promptbooks and revised editions from 1659-1667 indicate that someone was editing his plays to make them relevant for readers and audiences of the 1660s. This 'someone' did so sensitively, displaying both a thorough knowledge of the plays and the motivation to update them. 'Someone' also seems to have had political and religious sympathies in line with Shirley's own. And 'someone' abruptly ended these activities around the time of Shirley's death. Shirley is a very plausible possibility.

This chapter begins by considering the evidence for Shirley's responsibility for the editing, then outlines what became of Shirley's plays during the Civil War and Restoration. In section two, I analyse the nature of the differences between the Caroline and Restoration editions of his plays. A manuscript copy of *The Court Secret*, found in Worcester College library, Oxford, is examined in section three as an example of the adaptation of Shirley's plays in response to market forces in the 1660s.¹⁰ The manuscript contains

⁸ G. E. Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, 7 vols, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), vol. 5, p. 1071.

⁹ Nicholas McDowell, 'Herrick and the Order of the Black Riband: Literary Community in Civil-War London and the Publication of *Hesperides* (1648)' in Ruth Connolly and Tom Cain (eds), *'Lords of Wine and Oile': Community and Conviviality in the Poetry of Robert Herrick* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 106-126, p. 109.

¹⁰ Robert Guy Howarth, 'A Manuscript of James Shirley's *Court Secret*', *Review of English Studies* 7.27 (1931) 302-13.

amendments made to the original (1642) version of play in preparation for a staging by the King's Men in 1664. Section four turns to the promptbooks of *The Witty Fair One*, *The Sisters*, *The Maid's Revenge*, *Love's Cruelty*, and *The Ball* to consider the adaptability of Shirley's plays to the new environment. This discussion is informed by evidence uncovered by theatre historians regarding theatre buildings, machinery, company membership and biographical information about actors. This evidence illuminates prompters' markings, stage directions and cast lists in copies of Shirley's plays that were used in theatres after 1660.¹¹ I consider how the physical conditions of the space affected the theatre managers' decisions to include and exclude Shirleian drama from their repertoires, and how the plays were adapted in response to new theatre technology. Throughout, attention is tuned to the social and political climate change inflicted by Civil War and Regicide, and how the new era brought new meaning to Shirley's plays. What can we add to existing knowledge of transitions in English culture, both popular and elite, by comparing variant editions published after the Restoration and manuscript notes in Restoration promptbooks of Shirley's Caroline dramas?

This thesis approaches this question by drawing together historicism, book history, bibliography, biography and stage history, to consider how the most practical considerations in the theatre - scenery, theatre architecture, repertoire, cast and running time - shaped decisions about inclusion and exclusion of Caroline drama in Restoration repertoire. It deliberately combines research on the special and physical characteristics of the theatres with repertory studies, to illuminate close reading of Shirley's plays, which pay particular attention to how they were adapted to make them more likely to please their audiences. Synthesizing these approaches is particularly appropriate in the case of theatre, an essentially collaborative medium.

¹¹ I am particularly indebted to the work of Judith Milhous and Robert Hume, Tim Keenan, Edward Langhans, Andrew Gurr, Allardyce Nicoll, Leslie Hotson.

The approach taken in this thesis intends to foreground what Harold Love described as ‘the nexus between an understanding of textual genealogies and an understanding of how the text was used and understood by its early readers.’¹² Henry S. Turner points out that:

Renaissance men of letters [were] beginning to regard poetics, and especially the theatre, as a distinctive way of coming to knowledge about metaphysical principles, about society, and about human action, and not simply as a matter of philology, grammar, and style. And they arrive[d] at this new epistemological approach to poetics, surprisingly enough, not simply by reading classical authors but by comparing it to practical geometry, early-modern technology and the mechanical arts that were flourishing around them.¹³

The institutional realities of the new theatrical industry as it emerged from its Interregnum hiatus at first drew theatre managers to restage Shirley’s plays, and then, for reasons that this thesis will uncover, abruptly to abandon them. This is quite different from the Restoration treatment of Shakespeare’s plays, which were liberally adapted, taking their cue from Davenant’s reworking of *Measure for Measure* and *Much Ado About Nothing* into *The Law Against Lovers*. To provide some context for my analysis of promptbooks and late editions of Shirley, section five concludes with some consideration of Davenant’s treatment of Shakespeare. Was the relatively conservative treatment of Shirley’s plays from 1659-66 due to the fact that the playwright was still alive? Was Shirley involved in the reissuing of his plays, and if so, to what extent?

¹² Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 353.

¹³ Henry S. Turner, *The English Renaissance Stage: Geometry, Poetics, and the Practical Spatial Arts 1580-1630* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 11.

Was Shirley updating his plays for the Restoration market?

Susan Wiseman draws attention to some anomalies in accounts of Shirley's activities after 1642, noting that his masque, *Cupid and Death*, was performed by schoolboys under Shirley's tutelage, before its performance before the Portuguese Ambassador in 1653, as was his *Contention of Ajax and Ulysses* (1653). The latter may have been revived professionally in 1659.¹⁴ Wiseman suggests that, as Shirley denied deliberately seeking a court performance,

how the entertainment migrated from the schoolroom to the 'court' on 26 March 1653 is not known. But in order to find the script someone must have at least known of its existence or of earlier performances. This implies an instance of private or school performance, and that there was enough of a stage-culture for information to be passed on to those who arranged the performance.

There is a hint, in the as-yet-unanswered question of how *Cupid and Death* came to be performed at court, that Shirley may have done more to bring it about than he was willing to admit in print, in all likelihood to avoid the censure that would befall a poet engaged with the then-illegal practices of masquing and stage-play. Wiseman published her book before Nicholas McDowell illuminated the secretive literary coterie known as the Order of the Black Riband, of which Shirley was a member. Shirley had remained loyal to the crown throughout the Interregnum, and as his Restoration panegyric makes clear, he was not naïve about the need to appear in print praising Charles II in the early months of the new reign. The Order of the Black Riband was a circle based in London, formed in the Inns of Court in the aftermath of the first Civil War, and so called because

¹⁴ Susan Wiseman, *Drama and Politics in the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 378.

they wore a black band around their arms as a symbol of mourning for the executed Charles I and loyalty to his son.¹⁵ It was led by Thomas Stanley, and included Robert Herrick, John Hall, Richard Lovelace, Edward Sherburne, Richard Brome and Alexander Brome.¹⁶ Perhaps it was through these connections with elite, Royalist literary figures that manuscripts of *The Contention of Ajax and Ulysses* and *Cupid and Death* found their way into court.¹⁷ Wiseman continues:

As we are told of the 'elegance' and 'curiosity' of the scenes and that the 'musical compositions' (undertaken by Luke Channen or Channell who later worked on Davenant's *Macbeth*) 'had in them great soul of harmony', it would appear that the rehearsals were not excessively rushed. Therefore, when Shirley states that the staging was 'without any address or design of the Author', his denial may well be at least in part disingenuous: it seems likely that he would have known that his manuscript was being used.¹⁸

The title page of the 1659 edition of *The Contention* informs us that it was 'presented by young Gentlemen of quality at a private entertainment of some Persons of Honour', suggesting that it was performed outside of the academe.¹⁹

¹⁵ McDowell, 'Herrick and the Order of the Black Riband', p. 108.

¹⁶ McDowell, 'Herrick and the Order of the Black Riband', pp. 108-110.

¹⁷ Howarth suggests that the 1653 edition was edited for 'safety' for the 1659 production, and the script for 1659 was then published. Howarth, 'Shirley's Cupid and Death', *Times Literary Supplement*, 15 November 1934, p. 795.

¹⁸ Wiseman, *Drama and Politics*, p. 122.

¹⁹ James Shirley, *Honorio and Mammon Scene Metropolis or New-Troy: Whereunto is Added the Contention of Ajax and Ulysses for the Armour of Achilles / Written by James Shirley, Gent.; As it was represented by young gentlemen of quality at a private entertainment of some persons of Honour* (London: Printed for John Crook and are to be sold at his shop, 1659).

Shirley was certainly actively writing poetry right up to 1660, when he composed his 'Ode Upon The Happy Return of King Charles II to his Languishing Nations', and 1661, when he seems to have spearheaded the publication of *Stella Meridiana Caroli Secundi Regis & C*, which appears to be a published version of a manuscript miscellany.²⁰ It includes contributions from James Howell, Thomas Windsor, James Parry, John Hoskins and John Speed, at least two of whom died well before the Restoration.²¹ The appearance of *Stella Meridiana* serves to demonstrate Shirley's ability to 'upcycle' poetry, prose and biblical passages that were already well known (either in print or manuscript) into material appropriate for a new context.²² In one instance, Shirley leaves us a direct record of his reworking of an older play during the Interregnum: his morality play, *A Contention for Honour and Riches*, originally published in 1633, was revised and published in 1658/9 as *Honoriam and Mammon*. In his address 'To the Candid Reader' Shirley tells his readers about his approach to redrafting.

²⁰ James Shirley *et al.*, *Stella Meridiana Caroli Secundi Regis, &c. verses written 31 years since, upon the birth and noon-day star of Charles, born Prince of Great Brittain the 29 of May 1630: our now miraculously restored and gloriously crowned Charles the Second of Great Britain, France and Ireland King, &c./ by several persons of honour*, (London: Printed for T. Basset, 1661).

²¹ Shirley seems to have had an influence on the dramatic career of James Howard, with whom he collaborated on this miscellany. John Harrington Smith has called attention to Howard's *The English Mounsieur* (July or earlier 1663) 'as an important beginning in the "gay couple" tradition'. Its plot is similar to that of *The Ball* in that Lucina also pretends to be interested in men with practical skills and investments. *The Gay Couple in Restoration Comedy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1948), p. 26. See also Hume, *Development*, 1972, p. 372.

²² Nason suggests that Shirley may not have had access to his entire canon thanks to the players' rights of ownership: '*The Gentleman of Venice*, as we noticed above, had been licensed for presentation on October 30, 1639. Later, according to Shirley's dedication, "it lost itself, till it was recovered after much inquisition." This passage means, I take it, that either because Shirley had ceased to write for the players of Salisbury Court, or because of the closing of the theatres, or perhaps merely because the Queen's Men insisted upon their rights of ownership, Shirley was long unable to regain possession of the play.' (*James Shirley*, p. 147).

A small part of this Subject, many years since had drop'd from my pen. But looking at some opportunities upon the Argument, I thought some things more considerable might be deduced; and applying myself further, at times of recess, I felt it grow and multiply under my imagination: Nor I left it then (the matter being so pregnant in it self) till I form'd it into such limbs and proportions as you now see it. Modesty after this, invited me to cover it, and to cut off many impertinences, and purge some humour, that sate, I confess, unhandsomely upon it. (sig. A3)

This account of Shirley's editorial impulses - to pick out the relevance for a new era, to cut off 'impertinences', bawdy speeches and inappropriate jokes describes exactly the kinds of alterations that were made to some of Shirley's other plays before they were republished by William Leake after the Restoration, as chapter two will explore. In the same publication, Shirley appends his *The Contention of Ajax and Ulysses for the Armour of Achilles* which, I argue, may have been intended as an ironic comment on the squabbles of members of the Rump Parliament and expelled politicians (of whom, significantly, William Prynne was one).²³ Robert Bolley notes that the title page of a presentation copy of *Honoriam and Mammon* sold at Sotheby's on 8 July 1918 is inscribed on the title-page 'This Mr. James Sherley himselfe sent me by his

²³ John Freehafer notes that Tatham's *The Rump* emerged during a 'flood of anti-rump writings', which emerged in November 1659, and climaxed before the Rump Parliament was dissolved on 16 Mar. 1660, and had all but ceased by 10 Apr. 'Formation of the London Patent Companies in 1660' *Theatre Notebook* 20 (1965), 6-30, p. 10. Both *Honoriam and Mammon* and *The Contention of Ajax and Ulysses* could be viewed as part of this wave. *The Contention* provides a parody of the situation in 1659, suggesting that Shirley opportunistically published earlier work because he realised its contemporary relevance. By 1659 there was a long history of biased retelling of the Civil War story by both sides. See for example, Needham, *Mercurius Britannicus* 20 (4-11 Jan. 1644) mocking *Mercurius Aulicus*. See also McDowell, *Poetry and Allegiance in the English Civil Wars: Marvell and the Causes of Wit* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 157.

sonn in Law wh. a Letter June 11. 1658.’²⁴ This tells us that Shirley was personally involved in circulating his own work. Might he not have been equally invested in vetting the versions of his plays in use by acting companies?

Philip West argues that ‘Shirley was a serial composer of lyrics, who revised and cut his poems routinely and without aiming to fix the text.’²⁵ E. M. Yearling has also argued that Shirley was very active in revising his own work.²⁶ West writes of the manuscript, Bodleian MS Rawlinson poet. 88 (R), a scribal manuscript containing thirty six of Shirley’s poems, to which the author has added two leaves of further poems at the end and titles to some scribal ones, that its provenance confirms ‘that Shirley recycled his texts as a matter of habit’, exemplifying what Harold Love called ‘serial composition.’²⁷ West’s and Yearling’s analyses confirm Shirley’s own account, demonstrating that he habitually revised old verses to give them new contemporary relevance.

Shirley comments on his dissatisfaction with an earlier version of his play, *The Maid’s Revenge*, upon reviewing it years later, in the dedication to the first edition, which was published in 1632, six years after the first recorded performance:

though it came late to the Impression, it was the second birth in this kinde, which I dedicated to the Scene, ... if you finde a Poem infirme

²⁴ www.celm-ms.org.uk/introductions/ShirleyJames.html# (18 Dec. 2015), Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, vol. 5, p. 1118.

²⁵ Philip West, ‘Editing James Shirley’s Poems’, *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 52:1 (2012) 101-116, p. 103.

²⁶ E. M. Yearling (ed.), *The Cardinal* by James Shirley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), p. 31.

²⁷ West, ‘Editing’, p. 106. There is continuing controversy about the advertisements in this manuscript, see <http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/introductions/ShirleyJames.html#> (Accessed 26 Apr. 2016).

through want of age, and experience the mother of strength. It is many yeares since I see these papers, which make haste to kisse your hand; if you doe not accuse the boldnesse and pride of them, I will owne the child'.²⁸

Shirley's metaphor for this play, among the earliest of his *oeuvre*, as a 'child', implies that he understood well that it needed to mature (or be subjected to editing).

There is clear evidence that Shirley adapted lines of poetry into dramatic dialogue, and vice versa. West points out that several of Shirley's poems are taken directly from his play scripts. The poem published as 'Upon His Mistris Sad' in 1646 is in fact composed of two excerpts from his plays: *The Changes, or Love in a Maze* and *The Witty Fair One*, sandwiched together to create one coherent poem.²⁹ A lyric from taken from the dialogue in *Changes: or, Love in a Maze* (1632), 4.1, becomes the first stanza and the second stanza derives from Act Four of *The Witty Faire One* (1633). Both poems appear in Bodleian MS Rawlinson 88, but a few pages apart. Shirley has added a title to the former 'To a gentlewoman melancholy'. This manuscript thus provides a glimpse of the process through which the two stanzas became united, and were re-titled for publication in *Poems &c.* (1646). Similarly, the verse that is entitled 'Dialogue' in Shirley's *Poems &c.* is taken from one of Fowler's speeches in *The Witty Fair One*.³⁰ Two further poems originate in Shirley's plays: 'One that Lov'd Two Mistresses at Once,' and 'The Courtizane'.³¹ West also notes that the poem 'To L.

²⁸ James Shirley, *The Maid's Revenge: A Tragedy* (London: Printed for William Cooke, 1639), sig. A2.

²⁹ West, 'Editing', p. 107; Shirley 'Upon his Mistress Sad' in *Poems &c.* (London: Printed for Humphrey Moseley, 1646), p. 18.

³⁰ James Shirley *Poems &c.*, (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1646), p. 77; *The Witty Fair One* (London: printed for W. Cooke, 1633) (sigs. B4v-C). West, 'Editing', p. 114, n. 26.

³¹ West, 'Editing', p. 110.

for a Wreath of Bayes Sent,' published in *Poems &c.*, later appeared in *Honoriam and Mammon*, 'an entertainment which - by this point, almost expectedly - is itself adapted from Shirley's *A Contention for Honour and Riches* (1632).'³² Shirley acknowledges that one poem in *Poems &c.* was drawn directly from a play: 'A Song in a Play called Hide-Parke'.³³

West demonstrates that a well-circulated poem, 'Love's Hue and Cry,' which exists in four printed and three manuscript versions, was adapted from Moschus's popular first 'Idyl' about Venus searching for Cupid, but originated in Shirley's dialogue for Sir Nicholas Treedle's Tutor in *The Witty Faire One* (1628). Similarly, he explains that *The Witty Fair One* incorporates lines from a blazon that originated in Philip Sidney's *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, adapted and exaggerated for comic effect.³⁴ In *Poems &c.* Shirley excuses himself for printing poems that had previously circulated in manuscript by claiming to be providing a corrective to versions 'corrupted in their transcripts' by 'indiscreet Collector[s] not acquainted with distributive justice' who 'mingled' Shirley's 'with other men's poems'.³⁵ Did Shirley have the same impulse to correct his plays? The Interregnum closure of the theatres would have given him time to review editions of his plays then in print to correct their errors, and at the same time endeavour to update and improve them.

Before the Civil War, Shirley had been engaged with revising the plays of other dramatists, including two by John Fletcher and one by George Chapman, for publication by Andrew Crooke and William Cooke in 1639 and 1640.³⁶ As

³² West, 'Editing', p. 107.

³³ Shirley, *Poems &c.*, p. 46.

³⁴ West, 'Editing', p. 107.

³⁵ Shirley, "A Postscript to the Reader", in *Poems &c.*, pp. 79–80, 79, quoted in West, 'Editing', p. 109.

³⁶ A. H. Stevenson, 'Shirley's Publishers: The Partnership of Crooke and Cooke' *Library* (1944) s4-XXV (3-4) 140-161, p. 142-43, 150-51.

Stevenson points out, Shirley had a close relationship with his publishers, and it may be that he is a much more important figure in the history of printing and publishing than has ever previously been assumed.³⁷ The Restoration editions of his plays would seem to provide further evidence for this case. Wood also acknowledges that Shirley assisted his patron, William Cavendish, with writing and revising his plays:

Our author Shirley did also much assist his generous Patrone William, Duke of Newcastle, in the composure of certain Plays which the Duke afterwards published; and was a Drudge for John Ogilby in his translation of Homers *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and some of Virgil's works, into English verse, with the writing of annotations on them.³⁸

None of this *proves* that Shirley was connected with the professional theatre after 1642, but we can at least be certain that Shirley was still actively engaged with literature during the Interregnum and beyond the Restoration, and that he had a long-established practice of editing his own and others' poetic and dramatic verse. We also have evidence of Shirley's own correcting hand at work on the manuscript of *The Court Secret*, which is discussed in detail in chapter five. Shirley's practice of serial composition is well established in scholarship with regards to his poetry. This thesis extends this mode of thinking about Shirley's writing to include his plays. A close look at Restoration and Interregnum reprints the plays, alongside promptbooks and manuscript versions will build a picture of the ways in which Shirley's drama was subtly altered for the Restoration climate.

³⁷ Stevenson, 'Shirley's Publishers', p. 142.

³⁸ Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. 1, p. 737.

Shirley's significance on the Restoration Stage

Shirley has been acknowledged as an important figure in Restoration drama, in spite of the absence of new plays by him for the public theatre after 1642, since Robert Forsythe's 1914 study, and Gunnar Sorelius's *The Giant Race Before the Flood* (1966).³⁹ He is prominent among those Caroline dramatists for whom the theatre closures of the Interregnum combined with declining printing costs to provide the perfect opportunity (and incentive) to have their plays issued in print, and this inevitably had an effect on later dramatists: at least seventeen of Shirley's plays were a part of the Restoration repertoire.⁴⁰ It is now widely recognized that the term 'Restoration drama' implicitly overstates the discontinuities between Caroline and Carolean drama.⁴¹ Susan Wiseman writes that 'what happened in the post-Restoration theatre was shaped not solely by the dusted-off codes of Caroline theatre,' but by Interregnum drama. We might add that it was equally shaped by the presence of Caroline dramatists, Shirley prominent among them, on the Restoration stage. Wiseman argues that Restoration drama was 'marked by the knowledge of political possibilities produced in the Civil War and Protectorate, and this knowledge is present generically, self-consciously and in terms of plots, in

³⁹ Forsythe, *Relations of Shirley's Plays*; Gunnar Sorelius, *The Giant Race Before the Flood: Pre-Restoration Drama on the Stage and in the Criticism of the Restoration* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1966); Robert Hume, 'Securing a Repertory: Plays on the London Stage 1660-5,' in *Poetry and Drama 1570-1700: Essays in Honour of Harold F. Brooks*, ed. by Antony Coleman and Antony Hammond (London: Methuen, 1981), pp. 156-172.

⁴⁰ William Van Lennep, *The London Stage 1660-1800: part 1: 1660-1800, with a Critical Introduction by Emmett L. Avery and Arthur H. Scouten* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1963) pp. cclxxxvi-v.

⁴¹ Leslie Hotson, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, (Cambridge, MS: Harvard University Press, 1928); Alfred Harbage, *Cavalier Drama: An Historical and Critical Supplement to the Study of the Elizabethan and Restoration Stage* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1936); Robert Hume, *The Development of English Drama in the Late Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 6-7, 233-8.

Restoration plays.⁴² This kind of mark must have equally been present on Restoration performances of Caroline drama, which could never be revived exactly as it had been before, even if the actors had not aged a generation, and the theatres had not been burned down or repurposed. A new consciousness of the years of strife that followed the years of Charles I's rule had impacted on the life of every member of its audience and therefore on the way they experienced Shirley's plays in the 1660s.

Gunnar Sorelius demonstrated that the importance of Caroline, Jacobean and Elizabethan drama in the early years of the 1660s cannot be overstated, since the newer writing was slow to trickle onto the boards, and audiences looked to the comfort of older, respected dramatists of eras for which there was growing nostalgia. Financial pragmatism helped with the process of assimilation of old drama into new repertoires: a theatrical licence for an old play was half the cost of that for a new one.⁴³ The closure of the theatres had effectively ended the profession of playwright; since it was impossible to make a living at it, dramatists had moved on to other things, leaving a void in 1660 which took some years to fill.

Thomas Killigrew, who was in France with the King before his return to the throne in May 1660, was the first to be granted a patent by the King to establish a company of players and build a theatre after the Restoration: 'to erect two playhouses ... to control the charges to be demanded, and the payments to actors ... and absolutely suppressing all other playhouses'.⁴⁴ The

⁴² Wiseman, *Drama and Politics*, p. 217.

⁴³ 'Articles of Agreement between Herbert and Killigrew', 4 Jun. 1662, document 139 in *A Register of English Theatre Documents 1660-1737*, 2 vols, ed. by Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991), vol. 1, p. 34.

⁴⁴ Calendar of State Papers domestic series, 1660-61, p. 124. Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus or an Historical View of the Stage* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1987), p. 4. Killigrew's patent passed the Great Seal on 25 Apr. 1662 (Public Records Office C66/3013, no. 20).

patent was drafted by Killigrew himself on 9 July, but was contested by Davenant, who drafted a second patent on 19 July that ensured a duopoly for Killigrew and himself. Allardyce Nicoll asserted that Killigrew's company saw themselves as the natural successors of the older King's Men, and although this interpretation was challenged in the same journal by Hazelton Spencer, on the grounds that no concrete evidence suggests that the company consciously affiliated themselves with their Jacobean-Caroline namesake, it is true that the bulk of the plays written for the King's Men before the Civil War did end up in the possession of Killigrew and his players.⁴⁵ Shirley had become resident playwright for the King's Men after his return from Ireland in 1640. It was for this company that he wrote *The Imposture*, *The Cardinal*, *The Sisters* and *The Court Secret*. All four of these plays were performed by the King's Men after the Restoration. Shirley's earlier plays were largely composed for Queen Henrietta's Men, then under the management of Christopher Beeston. Beeston established a company of players at Salisbury Court, in anticipation of the Restoration, and began performing there in February or March 1660 (1659 old style).⁴⁶ Sir William Davenant effectively took over the management of this company, leasing the Salisbury Court theatre from Beeston, yet the plays in Beeston's Caroline repertoire did not necessarily pass to Davenant, since Killigrew's company played several after 1660. In December 1660 the Lord Chamberlain granted Davenant, whose company was patronised by the King's brother, James (Duke of York, later James II) and known as the Duke's Company, the rights to perform some of the plays initially licensed to Killigrew.

Our understanding of the division of licences for plays between these two companies comes chiefly from three documents of the Lord Chamberlain's:

⁴⁵ Allardyce Nicoll, 'The Rights of Beeston and D'avenant in Elizabethan Plays', *Review of English Studies* 1.1 (1925), 84-91, Hazelton Spencer, 'The Restoration Play Lists', *Review of English Studies* 1.4 (1925), 443-6.

⁴⁶ John Freehafer, 'Formation', p. 10.

a list of plays issued to Davenant, dated 12 December 1660, a further list of Davenant's plays issued on 20 August 1668 and an inventory of plays possessed by the King's Company, dated 12 January 1668/9.⁴⁷ However, the plays mentioned in these warrants do not constitute an exhaustive account of pre-Civil-War plays produced by the Restoration companies, since there is evidence of performances of plays not listed, in the lists kept by the Master of the Revels, Sir Henry Herbert, of plays licensed for performance each year, in memoir of John Downes, the Duke's Company's prompter, and in entries in the diaries of Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn documenting performances they had attended.⁴⁸ The table below shows all of the recorded performances of Shirley's plays by the King's Company and Duke's Company between 1660 and 1700.

⁴⁷ All three documents are held at the National Archives, Kew, LC 5/137 p. 343, LC 5/139 p. 375 and LC 5/12, and LC 5/12 p. 202, respectively. They are reproduced in Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of English Drama 1660-1900*, vol. 1: *Restoration Drama 1660-1700*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923) pp. 352-4.

⁴⁸ John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*. Downes admits to the imperfection of his account, since he based his account on memory without recourse to a journal or notes of any kind. Information from these sources is compiled in Van Lennep, *The London Stage 1660-1900*, into a year-by-year account of plays performed. Special thanks are due to Hannah Davis, whose URSS project on Restoration Shirley provided the starting point for this thesis.

SEASON	KING'S Play	Theatre	DUKE'S Play	Theatre
1660/1	<i>The Traitor</i>	RB / V		
	<i>Love's Cruelty</i>	V		
	<i>The Opportunity</i>	V		
	<i>The Wedding</i>	V		
	<i>Love in a Maze</i>	V		
1661/2	<i>The Constant Maid</i>	LIF	<i>The Grateful Servant</i>	LIF
	<i>The Brothers</i>	V		
	<i>The Ball</i>	V		
	<i>The Traitor</i>	V		
	<i>Love's Cruelty</i>	V		
	<i>Love in a Maze</i>	V		
	<i>The Cardinal</i>	V		
1662/3	<i>Love in a Maze</i>	B		
	<i>The Cardinal</i>	V		
	<i>The Young Admiral</i>	Court		
1663/4	<i>The Court Secret</i>	B		
	<i>The Brothers</i>	IT		
1664/5	<i>The Traitor</i>	B		
	<i>The Cardinal</i>	B		

1665/6			
1666/7	<i>?The Grateful Servant</i>	<i>?The Cardinal</i>	LIF
		<i>? The Witty Fair One</i>	LIF
1667/8	<i>?The Grateful Servant</i>	B	
	<i>The Cardinal</i>	B	<i>?The Witty Fair One</i> LIF
	<i>The Traitor</i>	B	<i>The School of</i> LIF
	<i>Love's Cruelty</i>	B	<i>Compliments</i>
	<i>Love in a Maze</i>	B	
	<i>Hyde Park</i>	B	
1668/9			
1669/7			
0	<i>The Sisters</i>	B	
	<i>The Bird in a Cage</i>		
1673/4	<i>The Maid's Revenge</i>	LIF	

Key: Red Bull (RB); Theatre Royal, Bridges Street (B), Lincoln's Inn Fields
theatre (LIF), Vere Street (V)

Figure 1: Performances of Shirley's Plays 1659 – 1675

Performances by smaller companies

Before the King's and Duke's companies had established their duopoly on the London theatres, several smaller groups of actors formed themselves into companies. One, a company managed by George Jolly and known as the 'Nursery', performed Shirley's *The Constant Maid*, under a new title, *Love Will Find Out the Way*, in the 1660-61 season at Salisbury Court and the Cockpit, when it was unoccupied by the Davenant and Killigrew companies.⁴⁹ When the theatres reopened in 1666 following an outbreak of plague, Jolly attempted to establish a playhouse of his own, in competition with Davenant and Killigrew. In 1667, an edition of *The Constant Maid* was published, which informed the reader on its title page that the play had been performed at the 'New Playhouse called the Nursery in Hatton Garden', and was part of the repertory of Jolly's Nursery.⁵⁰

A group calling itself 'the Red Bull players' gave two performances daily for two weeks in Oxford in July 1661, and its selection included *The Young Admiral*, which it performed at least three times: on its first day of playing, in the afternoon of 4 July (following William Rowley's *All's Lost by Lust*, that morning, which had been staged at the Red Bull the previous March) in the morning on Monday 8 July, and again in the afternoon on Saturday 13 July. The performance took place at the King's Arms in Holywell, Oxford, and, according to Richard Walden, Anne Gibbs, 'the transcendently formose, and (as far as can be concluded from the Topicks of Ommatology) most heroically virtuous', dedicatee of *Io ruminans: or The repercussion of a triumph celebrated in the*

⁴⁹ Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, vol. 5, pp. 1095-96; Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, pp. 167-109 and Nicoll, *English Drama*, pp. 290-316.

⁵⁰ Van Lennep, *London Stage*, p. 94.

palace of Diana Ardena, was cast as Rosinda.⁵¹ John Evelyn saw *The Young Admiral* and notes that it was performed 'before the King' a little over a year later, on 20 November 1662.⁵²

Another company must have continued to act at the Red Bull, with Anne Gibbs as leading actress, in the Spring of 1661, since Pepys records having seen her perform there. A list in the records of the Master of the Revels, Sir Henry Herbert, of twenty plays 'acted by the Red Bull actors' from September 1660, includes *The Traitor*, *Love's Cruelty* and *The Wedding*.⁵³ It is not clear exactly what became of this company, which was performing at the Red Bull theatre in Clerkenwell, as early as 12 May 1659, when two actors, Anthony Turner and Edward Shatterell, appeared before Middlesex justices for performing unlawfully. By the Autumn of 1660, this company included Nicholas Burt, Theophilus Bird, William Cartwright, Walter Clun, Charles Hart, Michael Mohun, Robert Shatterell and William Wintershall, along with Turner and Shatterell.⁵⁴ Nicoll refers to this troupe as the 'Old Actors', and suggests that they became Killigrew's company, the King's Company, after Charles II granted him his

⁵¹ Richard Walden, *Io Ruminans: or The Repercussion of a Triumph Celebrated in the Palace of Diana Ardena. By the Rustic Muse of R.W. Proicho-philo-mazix*, (London: 1662), sig. A3. Van Lennep, *London Stage*, pp. 30-1.

⁵² John Evelyn, *Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. William Bray (New York and London: M. Walter Dunne, 1901), p. 365. Eleanore Boswell identifies the company who performed it as the King's, which perhaps strengthens Nicoll's claim that the Red Bull players and the King's Company were either one and the same, or at least had a strong relationship, thanks to mutual personnel. Eleanore Boswell, *The Restoration Court Stage (1660-1702)* (Cambridge, MS: Harvard University Press, 1932), p. 280.

⁵³ Nigel Bawcutt (ed.) *The Control and Censorship of Caroline Drama: The Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels 1623-73* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 222.

⁵⁴ James Wright (1643-1713) notes that 'Burt was a boy first under Shank at the Blackfriars, then under Beeston at the Cockpit; and Mohun, and Shatterell were in the same condition with him, at the last Place.' *Historia Histrionica: An Historical Account of the English-Stage* (London, Printed by G. Groom, for William Harris, 1699), p. 3; Van Lennep, *London Stage*, pp. 5-6.

patent. Certainly, these three plays were all staged by the King's Company in the 1660-1 season, and a number of the personnel of the Red Bull players did transfer to the King's Company. However, even after Killigrew moved his operation to another theatre, Pepys continued recording performances he witnessed at the Red Bull into 1661. *The Traitor* was performed again at the Red Bull on 6 November 1660. The cast of that performance is unknown, but Herbert recorded it as a King's Company production.⁵⁵

The King's Company

The Traitor was undoubtedly the most successful of Shirley's plays between 1660 and 1700. The King's Company performed the play again at their new theatre in Vere Street on 22 November, and we know from Samuel Pepys's approving journal entry that Mohun played Lorenzo. Pepys calls it 'a very good Tragedy; Mr Moon [*sic.*] did act the Traitor very well.'⁵⁶ It was performed at Vere Street on Thursday 10 October 1661 by the King's Company, which Pepys enjoyed no less than he had done the previous year: 'My wife and I to the Theatre ... where the King came to-day, and there was *The Traitor* most admirably acted; and a most excellent play it is.'⁵⁷ When the play transferred to The Theatre Royal, a new, purpose built theatre, located in Bridges Street, off Drury Lane, opened in May 1663, Pepys was less impressed. On Friday 13 January 1664/5, he was 'ill-satisfied with the present actings of the House, and

⁵⁵ Herbert, *Dramatic Records*, pp. 96-100 and 116.

⁵⁶ Van Lennep, *London Stage*, p. 21. It is likely that Mohun was performing in another of Shirley's plays, *Love's Cruelty*, with the King's Company on 15 of November 1660. Wright (1643-1713), states that Mohun played Bellamonte shortly after the Restoration, probably in this production (the play is most likely to have remained in repertoire for the whole of the 1660/1 theatre season). Van Lennep, *London Stage*, p. 20. *Love's Cruelty* is listed among the King's Company plays in Herbert, *Dramatic Records*, p. 116. Wright, *Historia Histrionica*, p. 3.

⁵⁷ Cited in Van Lennep, *London Stage*, p. 40.

prefer the other House before this infinitely'.⁵⁸ It is noteworthy that *The Traitor* in particular, a play he had previously praised, caused Pepys to meditate on his dissatisfaction with the new theatre. Evidently, *The Traitor* remained in the repertoire in the following season: 'To the King's house to see "The Traytour," which still I like as a very good play,' Pepys noted.⁵⁹

Downes lists the following Shirley plays among those acted by the King's Company 'in this Interval from the Day they begun': *The Opportunity*, *The Example*, *The Cardinal*, and *The Traitor*, noting that: 'These being Old Plays, were Acted but now and then; yet being well Perform'd, were very Satisfactory to the Town'.⁶⁰ In addition, a warrant of 1668/9, lists 108 plays owned by the King's Company, including: *The Doubtful Heir*, *The Imposture*, *The Brothers*, *The Sisters* and *The Cardinal*.⁶¹ Other evidence adds further plays to the list. Albrecht saw *The Cardinal* and *The Court Secret* in 1664.⁶² Downes notes that 'the King's Servants', i.e. the King's Company, performed *Love in a Maze* (*The Changes*), in a brief list of the older plays performed by the Restoration companies that he confesses is incomplete: 'they acted divers others, which to enumerate in order, wou'd tire the patience of the reader'.⁶³

The first recorded performance of *Love in a Maze* by the King's Company was in May 1662, and it seems to have remained a staple of their repertoire for some time. Gerald Langbaine recalled in 1691: 'This Play has been received with

⁵⁸ Pepys, *Diary*, 13 January 1664/5.

⁵⁹ Van Lennep, *London Stage*, p. 119.

⁶⁰ Downes, *Roscus Anglicanus*, p. 25.

⁶¹ A Catalogue of part of His Ma^{tes} Servants playes as they were formerly acted at Blackfriars and now allowed to his Ma^{tes} Servants at Ye New Theatre', given in Nicoll, *English Drama*, p. 353-4.

⁶² Kathleen Menzie Lesko, 'Evidence of Restoration Performances: Duke Ferdinand Albrecht's Annotated Playtexts from 1664-65' *Philological Quarterly* 79.1 (2000) 45-68.

⁶³ Downes, *Roscus Anglicanus*, p. 40.

Success (as I said) in our Time; and as I remember, the deceas'd Mr Lacy acted Jonny Thump, Sir Gervase Simple's Man, with general Applause.'⁶⁴ The play was certainly well received enough to be repeated by the same company on Thursday 22 May, on which occasion Pepys noted: 'We by coach to the Theatre and saw *Love in a Maze*. The play hath little in it but Lacy's part of a country fellow, which he did to admiration.'⁶⁵ The King's Men revived *Love in a Maze*, again with John Lacy (*d.* 1681) as Thump, on Wednesday, 10 June 1663, at their new venue. Pepys recorded:

To the Royal Theatre by water, ... we saw '*Love in a Maze*'. The play is pretty good, but the life of the play is Lacy's part, the clown, which is most admirable; but for the rest, which are counted such old and excellent actors, in my life I never heard both men and women so ill pronounce their parts, even to making myself sick therewith.⁶⁶

Lacy played the role again at Bridges Street on Wednesday, 1 May 1667, having been committed to the porter's lodge and released two days later on 20-22 April, after his appearance in Edward Howard's satirical play *The Change of Crowns* in which Lacy, playing a country gentleman at court, angered the King by ad-libbing lines criticising the mercenary nature of courtly life.⁶⁷ Pepys saw *Love in a Maze* once more that day, and reported that all but Lacy's part was unimpressive, and that he was 'glad to find the rogue at liberty again'. He notes that 'here was neither Hart, nor Nell, nor Knipp; therefore, the play was not

⁶⁴ Gerald Langbaine, *The Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets* (Oxford: Printed by L. L. for George West and Henry Clements, 1691), p. 477. The date of the performance is noted in Herbert, *Dramatic Records*, p. 118.

⁶⁵ Pepys, *Diary*, 17 May 1662.

⁶⁶ Pepys, *Diary*, 10 Jun. 1663.

⁶⁷ Matthew J. Kinservik: 'Theatrical Regulation during the Restoration Period' in Susan J. Owens (ed.) *A Companion to Restoration Drama*. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2001) pp. 36-52, p. 39.

likely to please me'. Having not performed this play for some time previously (possibly because of the closure of the theatres during plague outbreaks in 1665-6), perhaps the May 1667 performance was a vehicle for Lacy, or a way to make money from his disgrace.⁶⁸ By July of that year, Pepys was noting in his diary that Thomas Crew had told him that Lacy 'lies a-dying of the pox', although Lacy did not actually die until 17 September 1681.⁶⁹

After Lacy, the company's next star was Charles Hart, who played the Duchess in *The Cardinal*, both before the Restoration and after. It seems unlikely, however, that Hart retained the role in the 1660s, since he was born in 1625 and would have been thirty-seven years old at this point. Grown men did not take female roles; once their voices had broken and beards begun to grow they graduated to male roles. Anyway, by 1661, the part would have been given to an actress.⁷⁰ The King's Company apparently took the production of *The Cardinal* to court on Thursday, 2 October, and performed it in the Cockpit at Whitehall (not to be confused with the Drury Lane theatre of the same name). Pepys recorded his evening at the Cockpit:

I do go thither, and by very great fortune did follow four or five gentlemen who were carried into a little private door in a wall, and so crept through a narrow place and came into one of the boxes next the

⁶⁸ Van Lennep, *London Stage*, p. 107.

⁶⁹ Julie Sanders, 'Lacy, John (c.1615–1681)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15856, accessed January 2011].

⁷⁰ Van Lennep suggests that Hart retained the role after the Restoration, the only evidence he cites is Wright's note that Hart was 'bred up ... at Blackfriars; and acted women's Parts. Hart was Robinson's boy or apprentice: he acted the Duchess in the tragedy of *The Cardinal*, which was the first Part that gave him Reputation'. *London Stage*, p. 52; Wright, *Historia Histrionica*, p. 3.

King's, ... Here we saw 'The Cardinall', a tragedy I had never seen before, nor is there any great matter in it.⁷¹

Despite Pepys's lack of interest, in 1667 he saw the play again, this time at the Theatre Royal, and enjoyed it, thanks to the casting of Rebecca Marshall:

Saw 'The Cardinall' at the King's house, wherewith I am mightily pleased; but, above all, with Becke Marshall. But it is pretty to observe how I look up and down for, and did spy Knipp; but durst not own to my wife that I see her ... and my belly now full with plays, that I do intend to bind myself to see no more till Michelmas.⁷²

Pepys saw *The Cardinal* again on 27 April 1668, and was no less satisfied, even though he did not see it in full this time: 'To the King's playhouse, and there saw most of "The Cardinal," a good play'.

The Court Secret appeared in repertoire for the first time in the 1663-4 season. This performance is discussed in detail in chapter five. *The Brothers* was revived in the same season, on Monday, 2 November 1663.⁷³ *The Changes, or Love in a Maze* was played at the Inner Temple on Thursday, 2 February 1665, while plague blighted that theatre season, necessitating theatre closures from June 1665 until late 1666.⁷⁴ During the interim, Killigrew took the opportunity

⁷¹ Quoted in Van Lennep, *London Stage*, p. 56.

⁷² Van Lennep, *London Stage*, p. 112.

⁷³ Van Lennep, *London Stage*, p. 82; R. G. Howarth, 'A Manuscript of James Shirley's *Court Secret*,' *Review of English Studies*, 7.27 (1931) 302-13, p. 203. It is doubtful that the play was performed before 1664, but a reference in *The Indian Queen* links the manuscript to this period, as does the handwriting of the original manuscript, which matches that of the scribe of the Duke of Newcastle's *The Country Captain*, which is likely to have been transcribed before 1642.

⁷⁴ It is recorded in *A Catalogue of the Inner Temple Records* that the King's Company received £20 for the performance. Van Lennep, *London Stage*, p. 86.

to update his theatre, increasing the size of the stage. During this theatrical hiatus, in 1666, Shirley died.

The playwright's death may have prompted a brief resurgence of interest in his drama, but the 1667-8 season would be the last in which Shirley's plays were featured on the professional stages in any significant number. Pepys was decidedly uninterested in the revival of *Love's Cruelty* that he saw in 1667:

With Sir Philips Carteret to the King's playhouse, there to see '*Love's Cruelty*', an old play, but which I have not seen before; and in the first act one Orange Moll come to me, with one of the porters by my house, to tell me that Mrs Pierce and Knepp did dine at my house to-day, and that I was desired to come home. So I went out presently, and by coach home, and they were just gone away; so, after a very little stay with my wife, I took coach again and to the King's playhouse again, and come in the fourth act; it proves to me a very silly play; and to everybody else, as far as I could judge...⁷⁵

He saw the play again the following April, but noted only how much he spent on his ticket and an orange.⁷⁶

On Friday, 7 February 1668, The King's Company was performing *Love in a Maze*, surprisingly for a Friday in Lent, when traditionally companies did not put on plays. But Pepys has written: 'To the King's playhouse, and there saw a piece of "*Love in a Maze*," a dull, silly play, I think'.⁷⁷ Nonetheless, he saw it again in April the day after seeing *The Cardinal*. His enjoyment of the tragedy seems to

⁷⁵ Pepys, *Diary*, 10 Dec. 1667; Van Lennep, *London Stage*, p. 126.

⁷⁶ Van Lennep, *London Stage*, p. 133. The promptbook of this play is discussed in detail in chapter eight, below.

⁷⁷ Van Lennep, *London Stage*, p. 129.

have softened him, for this time he seems to have liked the comedy: 'To the King's house, and there did see "*Love in a Maze*," wherein very good mirth of Lacy, the clown, and Wintersell, the country-knight, his master.'⁷⁸ Later in the same season, Killigrew added *Hyde Park* to the King's Company's repertoire (on Saturday, 11 July 1668). Once again, Pepys's first encounter with a Shirley comedy failed to impress him, but Rebecca Marshall's charm meant he felt the evening not entirely wasted:

To the King's playhouse, to see an old play of Shirley's called "*Hide Park*"; the first day acted; where horses are brought upon the stage: but it is a very moderate play, only an excellent epilogue spoke by Beck Marshall.⁷⁹

Pepys was not the only member of the audience that night, we need not assume that all of them considered the play only 'moderate'. After all, the company performed the play again for Charles II a few days later, on Tuesday, 14 July 1668.⁸⁰

The company were playing *Love in a Maze* at The Theatre Royal within two months of its opening, but that is the only recorded Shirley play revived in that season.⁸¹ In the following season, as we have seen, they also staged *The Traitor* and *Love in a Maze*.⁸² Surviving promptbooks provide evidence that two other Shirley plays were performed by the King's Company in the period

⁷⁸ Van Lennep, *London Stage*, p. 134.

⁷⁹ Van Lennep *London Stage*, p. 139.

⁸⁰ Van Lennep notes, 'This performance is on the L.C. lists', 5/139, p. 129, and 5/12, p. 17. The second list adds: 'the king here' (*London Stage* p 139). Nicoll, *English Drama*, p. 343-4

⁸¹ On Monday, 11 May, according to the Lord Chamberlain's list, Van Lennep, *London Stage*, p. 65.

⁸² *The Traitor* was performed on 20 Nov. 1674, L.C. list 5/141 p. 73, *Love in a Maze* on 24 Nov. (L.C. 5/141 p. 116), Nicoll, *English Drama*, p. 345.

between 1660 and 1682, but the exact performance dates are uncertain. These are *The Ball* and *The Maid's Revenge*. Both plays, and what the promptbooks can tell us about the productions that took place, are discussed in chapter nine.

The Duke's Company

William Davenant's troupe, the Duke's Company, performed significantly fewer Shirley plays between the Restoration and the playwright's death, confining themselves to one, *The Grateful Servant*, until 1667, when they added three more to their repertoire. Downes suggests the play was reasonably profitable, however:

After this the Company reviv'd Three Comedies of Mr Shirley's, viz. *The Grateful Servant*. *The Witty Fair One*. *The School of Compliments*. ... These Plays being perfectly well Perform'd; especially Dulcino the Grateful Servant, being Acted by Mrs. Long; and the first time she appeared in Man's Habit, prov'd as Beneficial to the Company, as several succeeding new Plays'.⁸³

⁸³ *Roscius Anglicanus*, p. 60. Milhous and Hume note that: '*The Grateful Servant* (1629) was seen by Dr. Edward Browne, probably in the spring of 1662. Jane Long would have been available to take the breeches role at that time.' In Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume (eds) John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, p. 27. Van Lennep questions the dating of this play: 'Downes makes it difficult, however, to determine when this performance occurred, because he places it after *Cambyses*, which he refers to as the first new play acted in 1666, whereas *Cambyses* apparently did not appear on the stage until Jan. 1670/1. Nevertheless, because Pepys saw *The Grateful Servant* on 20 Feb. 1668/9 and because it had earlier appeared on Sir Edward Browne's lists – see the season of 1661-2 – it is likely that the play was also acted shortly after the theatres reopened in 1666. This surmise is strengthened by the fact that *The School of Compliments*, or *Love's Tricks*, also listed by Downes in the same grouping of plays, was given on 9 May 1667'. (*London Stage*, p. 95).

Despite these plays being ‘beneficial’ to the company, Davenant’s troupe did not add Shirley plays to its repertoire at anything like the rate that Killigrew’s did. Certainly, Killigrew’s possession of the rights to the majority of Shirley’s plays must have been an inhibiting factor, but, Davenant demonstrated early his willingness to challenge Killigrew’s ownership of plays he wanted to produce. A remark in Pepys’s *Diary* suggests that their first foray into Shirley’s work was not as encouraging as Downes implies. Pepys saw the play for a second time on 20 February 1669, and notes ‘I forgot that ever I did see [it].’ Clearly it was not a memorable production. The details of its staging are not recorded in a promptbook, but someone clearly made an effort to edit the play, significantly shortening it and excising inappropriate material. The shorter version was published in 1660, and is discussed in section two. On Saturday 20 February 1669, the Duke’s company played *The Grateful Servant* at the Lincoln’s Inn Fields theatre.

On Thursday 9 May 1667 The Duke’s Company performed *The School of Compliments, or Love’s Tricks*, at court. The title page of the 1667 edition confirms that the play was ‘now Acted by His Royal Highnesse the Duke of York’s Servants at the Theatre in Little Lincoln’s Inn Fields.’⁸⁴ Charles Gildon (1665-1724, the playwright and biographer of Thomas Betterton) states that Betterton played Valentinian in this play.⁸⁵ The company performed *Love’s Tricks* again at Lincoln’s Inn Fields on Monday 5 August 1667, which Pepys attended with his wife, finding it to be ‘a silly play, only Miss Davis’s dancing in a Shepherd’s clothes did please us mightily.’ Nonetheless, he saw it again on 7

⁸⁴ This performance is on the L. C. list, 5/139, p. 125: *The School of Compliments* at Court (according to Van Lennep p. 108). See also Nicoll, *English Drama* p. 346. The edition of 1667 was licensed 1667. Charles Gildon, *The Life of Mr. Thomas Betterton, the Late Eminent Tragedian* (London: Printed for Robert Gosling, 1710).

⁸⁵ Gildon, *Life of Betterton*, p. 175. Betterton also ‘made some considerable figure’ in Shirley’s *The Grateful Servant*, *The School of Compliment* and *The Witty Fair One* (pp. 174-5).

January 1668.⁸⁶ Downes also indicates that *The Witty Fair One* was among the dramas revived after the plague outbreak.⁸⁷ No Restoration performance date is known for *The Witty Fair One*, but a prompt copy for a Duke's Company production is preserved in the Malone Collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.⁸⁸

Van Lennep suggests that the Duke's Company was performing *The Cardinal* in the 1666-7 season, based on Pepys's records in his diary that 'I heard discourse how Harris of [Duke's] play-house is sick, and everybody commends him, and, above all things, for acting the Cardinall'.⁸⁹ If so, this would be the only instance of direct competition between two companies performing the same Shirley play at different theatres within a short space of time. Pepys certainly saw *The Cardinal* at the King's House (i.e. Theatre Royal) on 24 August 1667. It is more likely, however, that 'the Cardinal' played by Harris was Cardinal Wolsey in Shakespeare and Fletcher's *Henry VIII*.⁹⁰

After Davenant's death, Betterton and Henry Harris managed the day-to-day running of the company, on behalf of Davenant's widow, with Charles Davenant (the late manager's son), acting in the company.⁹¹ The company continued gradually adding Shirley comedies to its play. On 7 January 1670 the

⁸⁶ Van Lennep, *The London Stage*, p. 128.

⁸⁷ Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, p. 27; Van Lennep writes that 'he confuses the dating by placing the Shirley revivals after *Cambyzes*, which he assigns to 1666 but which is now assigned to January 1670/1' (*London Stage*, p. 95).

⁸⁸ It has been reproduced in facsimile by Edward A. Langhans in *Restoration Promptbooks*. (Carbondale and Edwardsville, Il: Southern Illinois University Press, 1981), pp. 261-94.

⁸⁹ Pepys, *Diary*, 20 Feb. 1667; Van Lennep, *The London Stage*, p. 101.

⁹⁰ Downes recalls Harris's performance as Cardinal Wolsey in *Roscius Anglicanus*, pp. 55-6.

⁹¹ Van Lennep, 'Henry Harris, Actor, Friend of Pepys', *Studies in English Theatre History* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1952), p. 14n; *London Stage*, p. 143. See also see Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, p. 31.

Duke's company played *The Gentleman of Venice*, again at Lincoln's Inn Fields, it is in the Lord Chamberlain's lists, now held at Harvard.⁹² On 10 March the same company played *The Gamester*, according to the same list.

The following year, the Duke's Company, by then under its new managerial team, began construction of a new playhouse at Dorset Garden, continuing to perform at Lincoln's Inn Fields until it was completed in November 1671. They performed *Love's Tricks*, or, *The School of Compliment* at Lincoln's Inn Fields on Friday, 17 February 1671.⁹³ When the Duke's Company moved out in the following season, the King's Company moved in, as they were temporarily homeless following the destruction of their theatre in Bridges Street by fire on 25 January 1671/2. This setback, together with the attraction of the brand new theatre, enabled the Duke's Company to surpass the King's in success during this period. No evidence of Shirley plays performed by either company has been uncovered for the seasons 1671-2, or 1672-3, and though this may be owing to the scarcity of records rather than a complete absence of Shirley plays onstage, the pattern points towards a fairly rapid loss of interest in Shirley among theatregoers and performers in the 1670s.

1680s: Demise

No further Shirley plays are recorded among performances of either company between then and 1682, when the 'United Company', was formed by a merger of the weaker King's Company into the stronger Duke's.⁹⁴ Several of the leading King's players retired shortly after the merger, leaving the United

⁹² Van Lennep, 'Plays on the English Stage', p. 15.

⁹³ Listed in the Lord Chamberlain's lists at Harvard as '*The Schoole of Compliments*', Van Lennep, 'Plays on the English Stage', pp. 17-18; *London Stage*, p. 180.

⁹⁴ *London Stage*, p. 271. Langhans, 'New Restoration Theatre Accounts', *Theatre Notebook* 17 (1963), p. 122, discusses the weak profits of the King's Company and the details of the merger in 1682.

Company in possession of both the Dorset Garden and Drury Lane theatres. In general, they came to use Drury Lane for drama, and Dorset Garden for spectacles. It seems, however, that it was not until 1692 that the United Company ventured to produce any of Shirley's works. When they did, it was claimed in the *Gentleman's Journal* that:

The Traytor, an old tragedy, hath not only been revived last Month, but also been reprinted with Alterations and Ammendments; It is supposed to be Shirly's, but he only usher'd it in to the stage; the Author was one Mr Rivers, a Jesuite, who wrote it in his Confinement in Newgate, where he died. It hath always been esteemed a very good Play, by the best Judges of Dramatick Writing.⁹⁵

The Traitor was clearly licensed by Shirley on 4 May 1631, and entered in the Stationers' Register under his name in 1634, indicating that, as Alison Shell puts it 'there is no reason to take the attribution seriously'. Shell does speculate that

Some form of co-authorship is nevertheless conceivable. A likelier candidate is the author John Abbot, who also used the name of Rivers; he was a Jesuit at one period of his life, was imprisoned in London at several points in the 1630s and 1640s, and died in Newgate.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Peter Mottoux, *Gentlemen's Journal* (April 1692), p. 21. Giles Jacobs follows suit, claiming: "This play was originally writ by Mr. Rivers, a Jesuit; but very much alter'd by Mr. Shirley." *The Poetical Register, or, The Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets with an Account of their Writing*, 2 vols, (London: E. Curll, 1719), vol. 2, p. 238.

⁹⁶ E. C. Marchant, 'Rivers, Antony (fl. 1601–1606)', rev. Alison Shell, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004); [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23689, accessed December 2011]; John Stewart Carter, 'Introduction' in James Shirley, *The Traitor*, edited by John Stewart Carter (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), p. xi.

Van Lennep suggests that *The Traitor* was revived in the 1698-9 season, basing his argument on an inscription on a 1718 playbill for Christopher Bullock's production on 11 October, which states that the play was '[n]ot acted these twenty years'.⁹⁷ Lady Morley saw the play in the following season, when she sat in the Box and paid four shillings.⁹⁸ Van Lennep records further eighteenth-century performances at Drury Lane.⁹⁹

Beyond 1700, recorded performances of Shirley plays continued to decline in number. Downes mentions that the first *play* acted at the new Theatre in the Hay Market, opened by Captain Vantbrugg (following an Italian opera performed for its opening) was *The Gamester*.¹⁰⁰ The King's Company, under Killigrew, certainly led the way in understanding the Restoration audience's taste for Shirley, while the Duke's Company were slower to tap into this market. We might speculate whether Shirley had anything to do with preventing anyone besides Killigrew from producing a substantial number of his plays before his death, but this is an unlikely scenario. It was generally the company, not the individual author, who retained the rights to a play once it was completed and sold to it. The only evidence that points towards it is that the Duke's Company increased the number of Shirley plays in its repertoire so shortly after the playwright's death.

The death of a well-known and respected playwright, poet and pedagogue, who narrowly missed becoming poet laureate, would naturally prompt resurgence of interest in his plays. Davenant, although a former rival, would surely have seen the commercial opportunity this created. It is possible

⁹⁷ Van Lennep, *London Stage*, p. 509.

⁹⁸ Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, p. 377.

⁹⁹ Van Lennep, *London Stage*, vol. 2, pp. 46 and 77.

¹⁰⁰ Downes, *Roscus Anglicanus*, p. 48. Milhous and Hume, add a note that: '*The Gamester*, a reform comedy, had premiered with great success in February 1705 at Lincoln's Inn Fields. It was performed at the Hay Market on 27 April'. (p. 99, n. 357)

that after Shirley's death, Davenant appealed to the Lord Chamberlain to increase the number of Shirley plays available to him. Although the evidence of the three surviving lists of plays does not indicate this, Van Lennep asserts the possibility that there may have been further and more extensive lists than the ones that now survive in the National Archives, and the theory cannot be disproved.¹⁰¹ Alternatively, it may be that Davenant scoured booksellers' catalogues for Shirley plays in print that had not become part of the King's repertoire, and simply claimed them as his own by rehearsing and performing them. This might explain why the list of plays allocated to Killigrew in January 1668/9 contains five of Shirley's plays (*The Doubtful Heir*, *The Impostor*, *The Cardinal*, *The Brothers* and *The Sisters*), despite the fact that Shirley is not so prominent in the earlier patents.¹⁰² If Davenant were starting to encroach on 'safe' crowd-pleasers, it would give Killigrew the impulse to lock down his rights to Shirley's plays.

After Shirley's death, his name soon ceased to be a feature of the Restoration playbill, or title page, even when his words, characters and plotlines were used. The final chapter examines the process through which this came about, comparing Shirley's reputation with the growth of the Shakespeareo-centric view of pre-Civil-War drama. As we saw, when *The Traitor* was revived with alterations at the Theatre Royal (Drury Lane) in 1692, it was attributed to Anthony Rivers, as was the imprint of the play, with 'alterations, amendments and additions'.¹⁰³ In fact, the 'alterations, amendments and additions', are very few, and consist chiefly of omissions.¹⁰⁴ With Shirley no longer alive to protect

¹⁰¹ Van Lennep, *London Stage*, p. cxliii.

¹⁰² Nicoll, *English Drama*, p. 353-4.

¹⁰³ James Shirley, *The Traitor: A Tragedy, with alterations, amendments and additions / written by Mr. Rivers*. (London: Printed for Richard Parker and Sam. Briscoe, 1692).

¹⁰⁴ Forsythe notes: 'This version was repeated in 1703 and 1704. ... In 1718, further alterations were made by C. Bullock, and *The Traitor* was produced at Lincoln's Inn Fields, October 11, 1718. On 10 February 1819, Shiel brought out at Covent Garden a version of *The Traitor*,

his legacy, no one challenged the attribution. Robert Forsythe has demonstrated fulsomely that Shirley's work resurfaced under new titles, adapted by later generations of dramaturges.¹⁰⁵ The broad brush-strokes picture of Shirley in the 1660s is that his plays were a prominent feature of the King's Company's repertoire, but that the Duke's Company did not show much interest in them (except one play) until the year after Shirley died. After a short resurgence of interest, perhaps prompted by his death in 1666, Shirley's plays had been dropped from repertoire almost completely by the end of the 1670s. Evidence of his activity may not prove, but does support, the proposition that he was personally involved with adapting his plays for the Restoration readership and audience. To tint and shade the picture, we must look in detail at the editorial choices.

entitled *Evadne, or The Statue*. This alteration was acted thirty times. In New York, *Evadne* was played as late as 13 December 1881. There is more dramatic unity in Shiel's play than in Shirley's.' *Shirley's Plays*, pp. 33. The cast list for the 1692 edition of *The Traitor* reads: Duke of Florence – Hodgson; Lorenzo – Kynaston; Sciarrha – Williams; Pisano – Cibber; Cosmo – Harris; Florio – Alexander [Verbruggen]; Depazzi – Haynes; Frederico – Mich. Lee; Alonzo – Bright; Petruchio – Freeman; Rogero – Tommy Kent; Amidea – Mrs Bracegirdle; Oriana – Mrs Lassells; Morossa – Mrs Cory. Van Lennep, *London Stage*, p. 406.

¹⁰⁵ *The Relations*, pp. 32-41.

Section II: Stage to Page

Chapter 2: Restoration Editions of Shirley's Plays: *The Wedding and Love Tricks, or, The School of Compliment,*

The 1667 edition of *Love Tricks, or The School of Compliment* contains a poignant prologue regretting the waning popularity of Shirley's plays:

In our Old Plays, the humor, Love and Passion
Like Doublet, Hose, and Cloak, are out of fashion:
That which the World call'd Wit in Shakespears Age,
Is laught at, as improper for our stage;
Nay Fletcher stands Corrected, what hope then
For this poor Author, Shirley; whose soft Pen
Was fill'd with Air in Comic Scenes, alas,
Your Guards are now so strict he'l never pass,
And yet methinks, I hear the Critticks say
'Twas our fault, why would we revive his Play?
But, Modern Poets, if you'l give me leave,
To tell you what I humbly do conceive,
The fault's yours, for our Stage shall be no Debtor
For Shirley's Play, if you would write a better.
Mean time we hope our noble Guests will think,
Th'old wine good, till the new be fit to drink.¹⁰⁶

This prologue is jovially pessimistic in its portrayal of Shirley's popularity. But it begs a question: why would any publisher speculate funds on producing an edition of the play if it would 'never pass'? If a decent return on the investment

¹⁰⁶ James Shirley, *The School of Compliment, or, Love Will Find Out the Way* (London: Printed by R. T. and sold by Thomas Dring Jr, 1667), 'Prologue' [sig. A4].

was out of the question because the reading public was no longer interested in Shirley's plays after the Civil War, no publisher would go to the trouble of bringing the play to the press. This was clearly not the case, since seven of his plays were printed after 1660. Four of these are of particular interest because they survive in Caroline and Restoration editions, providing evidence of how Shirleian drama was 'corrected' to take the 'air' out of its 'comic scenes' to make them appeal to the Restoration play collector. It is possible that the playwright himself, then in his sixties, was responsible for the changes that were evidently made in preparation for the new editions.

The table given in chapter one listing known *performances* of Shirley's plays tells only half of the story of Shirley and the Restoration stage. To gain a fuller picture, it is important to pay attention to readers' editions of his plays. The publishers' practice of acquiring the rights to plays from Shirley's back catalogue, and reprinting them, sometimes altering the format and size (Quarto to Octavo), sometimes with alterations to the texts, - established during the Interregnum - continued and gathered momentum after 1660. The information they provide is at times unreliable, as we will see, but are further pieces of the puzzle, when fitted with performance history garnered from other sources, to tell the story of Shirley's Restoration reception and demise.

The first two of Shirley's plays to be printed after the Restoration were *The Grateful Servant* and *The Wedding*, both published in 1660 by William Leake. Although the Restoration editions were not necessarily connected with revivals onstage, both of these plays *were* performed after the Restoration. Three editions of *Love Tricks, or The School of Compliment* were published, in 1631, 1637 and 1667. There are two distinct editions of *The Traitor*, the first published by William Cooke in 1635. Richard Parker published a second edition of the play in 1692, giving the author as Anthony Rivers. The latter edition is actually little different from the former, except that it has been shortened by

roughly 275 lines, consuming fifty-eight pages rather than seventy-eight. In this respect, the later edition is notably similar to the Restoration edition of *The Grateful Servant*. This section asks what Restoration editions can tell us about the plays' performance histories. In chapter four I shall compare Caroline and Restoration editions of *The Grateful Servant*, while chapter five will look at *Love Will Find Out the Way*, a 1661 reprint of *The Constant Maid*, which was originally published in 1640 (and reprinted in 1667).

Alan Farmer and Zachary Lesser have explained that after the Caroline period, there was a distinct split of the playbook market into two modes: new plays and classics.¹⁰⁷ There was remarkably little overlap between the two, that is, stationers who specialized in new plays rarely produced second editions, and stationers who sold 'classic' plays did not speculate on new works. Thus, the stationers (and, by extension, the reading public) of the Caroline, Interregnum and Restoration periods created a canon of early-modern drama drawn from the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods. This finding sheds a new light on the prologue to *Love Tricks*. The prologue emphasizes the 'dated' nature of the play in order to market it as a 'classic' from the previous era, rather than because it genuinely did seem 'out of fashion'. Among the twenty seven pre-Civil-War plays reprinted between 1660 and 1700, five are by Shirley, and, with the exception of Beaumont and Fletcher's, the rest are all Elizabethan and Jacobean. Farmer and Lesser describe it as 'highly unlikely that Caroline first editions would be reprinted', and suggest that the Caroline taste for novelty and the disruption caused by the Civil War prevented the majority of Caroline plays from ever becoming 'classics'.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ 'Canons and Classics: Publishing Drama in Caroline England' in *Localizing Caroline Drama* ed. by Adam Zucker and Alan B. Farmer (New York and Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 17-41, (pp. 25-37).

¹⁰⁸ Farmer and Lesser, 'Canons and Classics', p. 36.

That almost one fifth of all pre-Restoration drama reprinted between the Restoration and the end of the century was by Shirley is testament to his canonical status at that time. Farmer and Lesser also remark on the shift in consumer habits during the Caroline period from seeking out plays by name, to a new custom of printing the author's name on the title page, and a public who sought plays by particular authors they had already enjoyed. We might conclude from the data given by Farmer and Lesser that Shirley's name still had currency in the first years of the Restoration. Yet this recognition faded sharply with the poet's death. As Forsythe identified, Shirley's material was borrowed and reused by the next generation of writers, who were not obliged to credit Shirley for the aid he lent them, and they did not do so.

As well as being repeatedly successful in performance, *The Grateful Servant* was available in print throughout the Interregnum and Restoration, as we can see from the catalogues of books available from its publisher, William Leake, which he regularly appended to his publications, as well as the catalogue by William Lauden mentioned above. *The Grateful Servant* was entered in the Stationers' Register in 1629 as *The Faithful Servant* and apparently printed the following year. It was re-entered in the Stationers' Register in 1637 by William Leake, and he printed it that year.¹⁰⁹ The double appearance of *The Grateful (Faithful) Servant* in the Stationers' Register suggests that Leake purchased the rights to it in 1637 (he probably acquired rights to *The Wedding* at the same time). Leake reprinted the play in 1660.

¹⁰⁹ There are differences between the 1630 and 1637 versions, but these are relatively minor, such as unremarkable variant and erroneous spellings. The 1660 edition is not consistent in which it follows, but the 1630 edition is favoured, which suggests that the earlier imprint was used as the copy-text for the Restoration version.

Advertisements for *The Wedding* appeared in at least seven texts published between 1655 and 1700.¹¹⁰ *The Grateful Servant* is advertised in nine other books printed by Leake between 1650 and 1659.¹¹¹ Adam Hooks argues that texts that appear consistently in booksellers catalogues were selling slowly, and thus were presumably unpopular.¹¹² He makes an exception for Shirley, however, suggesting that the reprinting of *The Grateful Servant* in 1637 and *The Wedding* (the only other of Shirley's plays ever printed by Leake) in 1660 suggests that these plays remained in print because they were 'selling well'.¹¹³ I am not convinced that this argument holds. The situation may be more complex

¹¹⁰ Advertisements for *The Wedding* feature in William Fulke's *Meteors* (London: Printed for William Leake, 1655); in a catalogue of plays printed for R[ichard] Bentley and S. Magnes appended to *Clitie*, a novel by Richard Blackbourne (London: Printed for William Leake, 1688) - *Love Tricks*, *St Patrick for Ireland* and *The Grateful Servant* appear in the same list, p. 216); Pierre Cornielle's *Nicomede, a Tragicomedy* (London: Printed for Frances Kirkman 1671), in P. Boyer's *The Negotiations of the ambassadors sent to the Duke of Savoy by the Protestant Swiss-Cantons* (London: Printed for Richard Bentley, 1691), and Fontenelle's *Dialogues of the Dead, Ancient and Modern* (London: Printed for R[ichard] B[entley], 1685). It appears again in 1693 in a catalogue of plays printed for Richard Bentley in Thomas Blount's *A Natural History* (London: Printed for Richard Bentley, 1693), with *The Humorous Courtier*, *Love Tricks* and *The Grateful Servant*, and once more in John Fletcher's *Bonduca* (London: Printed for Richard Bentley, 1696).

¹¹¹ These were, arranged chronologically: M. M., *Vienna*, 1650; Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, *The Idiot in four books*. 1650; Jean-François Senault, *Man Become Guilty, or, The Corruption of Nature by Sinne*, 1650; William Oughtred, *Mathematicall Recreations*, 1653; Sir Hugh Plat, *The Garden of Eden*, 1654; William Fulke, *Meteors*, 1655; Peter Heylyn, *France Painted to the Life by a Learned and Impartial Hand*, 1656; William Nicholson, *An Apology for the Discipline of the Ancient Church* 1658/9. Sir Hugh Plat, *The second part of the Garden of Eden* 1659/60. All printed in London for William Leake.

¹¹² Adam G. Hooks, 'Booksellers' Catalogues and the Classification of Printed Drama in the Seventeenth Century', *PBSA* 102: 4, (2008) 445-64, p. 454. See also Adam Hooks, 'The Catalogues of William Leake', *Publications of the Bibliographical Society of America* 102.4 (2008), 445-464.

¹¹³ Hooks, 'Booksellers' Catalogues', p. 455.

than Hooks supposes; he gives no consideration to the possibility of changes in readers' tastes in this period. The most likely explanation for the two plays remaining in the catalogues is indeed that they were selling slowly. Since no new imprints from the 1640s or 1650s survive, we must assume that the copies Leake purchased or printed when he acquired the rights to the plays in 1637 did not sell out until very shortly before the Restoration. The plays were then both reprinted in 1660. A stationer who had finally sold out of copies of thirty-year-old plays after they had spent twenty-three years on his shelves would surely not print further copies unless there was a compelling reason to do so. One explanation is that the restaging of the play brought it to the attention of a new generation of readers, but the decisions both to stage and to reprint *The Wedding* can be interpreted as political move, either celebrating or anticipating the Restoration.

The later edition of *The Wedding* is very close to the previous editions, with no substantial alterations to the text, but the layout was changed so that it covers only sixty-four pages (compared with eighty-six in 1630 and seventy-two in 1633) meaning that it could be printed with four sheets of paper, rather than the five or six required for the earlier editions. In general, lines that make up a single line of iambic pentameter but are spoken by two characters are positioned on the same line, not two. Stage directions use a smaller font and are often placed alongside dialogue rather than occupying their own lines. *The Grateful Servant* was altered in layout in similar ways, but heavily edited as well. In some ways, the changes seem motivated by reducing printing costs: the commendatory verses are excluded in both cases, eliminating three pages from *The Wedding* and ten from *The Grateful Servant* (these were omitted from the second imprint of *The Wedding* in 1633, but retained in the 1637 *Grateful Servant*). *The Grateful Servant* was also printed on four sheets, rather than six. These alterations would have reduced the cost to Leake quite considerably,

which would have helped to limit the financial loss if the plays were to prove, once again, to be slow sellers.

Humphrey Moseley discovered a lucrative market for smaller-format playbooks during the Interregnum and pioneered the printing of poetry and drama in Octavo.¹¹⁴ The very notion of reprinting plays has been read as an ‘openly Royalist’ political intervention.¹¹⁵ Paulina Kewes has shown that Moseley’s Octavo playbooks were intended to serve a readership aiming to put together collections by Shirley, and William Cartwright and Richard Brome, in uniform bindings, in line with poetry collections in the same format. Moseley printed Shirley’s *Six New Playes* and *Poems &c.* (as well collections of plays by Beaumont and Fletcher, and Brome) in Octavo, and in 1655 he published *The Politician* and *The Gentleman of Venice* in both Quarto and Octavo simultaneously. Although, as Kewes points out, after Moseley’s death in 1660, play printing returned to its older Quarto format, with occasional Folio presentation volumes emerging, Leake may have benefited from Moseley’s experiment and decided that smaller, cheaper editions meant healthier profits.¹¹⁶ As Barnard puts it, ‘their cheapness, something to which [Moseley] regularly drew attention, encouraged readers to buy the series’.¹¹⁷ It is also possible that the cuts were not made by Shirley or by Leake, but in the theatre; perhaps by Killigrew. There is good reason for supposing that the edition of *The Traitor* published in 1692 was set from a copy that had previously been

¹¹⁴ See Kewes, Paulina, “‘Give me the sociable Pocket-books ...’: Humphrey Moseley’s Serial Publication of Octavo Play Collections’, *Publishing History* 38 (1995), 5-21.

¹¹⁵ John Barnard, ‘London Publishing 1640 – 1660: Crisis, Continuity and Innovation’, *Book History* 4 (2001), 1-16, p. 8. Barnard points out that external investment or subscription was often required for longer books, pp. 9 and 11.

¹¹⁶ Kewes, ‘Humphrey Moseley’s Serial Publication’, p. 12.

¹¹⁷ Barnard, ‘London Publishing’, p. 8.

used as a promptbook, as I shall discuss in detail in the second half of the present chapter.¹¹⁸

The Restoration editions of *The Wedding* and *The Grateful Servant* are too similar to their originals to have been drawn from theatrical copies. The title pages are the same as their Caroline counterparts, including the information about where they had been staged. In *The Wedding*, a list of the actors is given, but it is that of the Caroline production, not the new cast.¹¹⁹ Since the plays had already been published, there was no legal requirement to register the imprints with the Stationers' Company, and thus there are no records in the Stationers' Register to help us to establish a firm date. Advertisements on the final page indicate that the imprint cannot have been earlier than 1662.¹²⁰ But, how early the amendments to *The Grateful Servant* were made remains open to question. They might have been made as early as 1659, before the official reopening of the theatres.¹²¹

The Grateful Servant is unusual as the only Shirley play staged by Davenant before Shirley's death. It was put on by the Red Bull actors before 10 September 1660, and at Vere Street by the King's Company on 9 January

¹¹⁸ *The Traitor: A Tragedy, With Alterations, Amendments, and Additions, as it is Now Acted at the Theatre Royal, by their Majesties Servants, written by Mr Rivers* (London: Richard Parker and Sam Briscoe, 1692).

¹¹⁹ All three editions list the cast as follows: Richard Perkins, Michael Bowyer, John Sumpner, William Robins, William Sherlock, Anthony Turner, William Allin, William Wilbraham, John Young, John Dobson, Hugh Clarke, Edward Rogers, Tymothy Read.

¹²⁰ My thanks to Sonia Massai for leading me to these advertisements.

¹²¹ Alexander Dyce writes: 'Mr Gifford says it was reprinted "*I believe, in 1655*": the *biog dram.* mentions an ed[ition] in 1660. The only ed[ition] subsequent to that of 1637 which I have met with, is one without a date, apparently not earlier than 1660.' *Dramatic Works and Poems of James Shirley*, p. xiii.

1660/1.¹²² No further evidence of performances has been uncovered, but there are advertisements for copies of the play in print throughout the rest of the seventeenth century.¹²³ As there is no further record in the Stationers' Register, even though it was being sold by people other than Leake, it is probable that there was no further printing of the play, and that it appears frequently in booksellers' catalogues because copies from Leake's initial print run remained unsold. It may be that the play fell out of the theatrical repertoire because it was too rooted in the moment at which it was first composed. Alfred Harbage, for example, finds parallels with the wedding of Sir Kenelm Digby and Venetia Stanley, allusions that would have scandalized Caroline audiences, but would have been lost on a Restoration crowd.¹²⁴

The Wedding: 'The Lines Truly Shirley's'

The original performance licence for *The Wedding* has not been found. Using internal evidence in 3.2, F. G. Fleay dates the play to between 1626 and 1630: 'In witness whereof ... the last day of the first merry month and in the

¹²² Van Lennep, *London Stage*, pp. 12 and 23. The record of the latter is in the records of Sir Henry Herbert, (in Bawcutt, *Control and Censorship*, p. 222).

¹²³ A copy of the 1633 edition of the play held at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, is bound with other plays from the Restoration period, which might hint towards a later stage history, but in the absence of other evidence for productions after 1661 this is not conclusive. (Bodleian, Mal. 103) The copy contains no markings, but a slip of paper has been inserted, which reads: 'The Curtains Drawn the rest must not be known/ Inquire no more the Time may be your own'. The copy of the 1633 edition held at the Folger Shakespeare Library contains a manuscript note in ink: 'Scene/ Sr Jn Belfares house & Park in y^e Country.' underneath the list headed 'The Actors Names'. This is the only scene noted and it is unlikely to be a production copy as there are no other markings. Folger Greg, II, 425(b).v, Early English Books Online, [http://0gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99852546, accessed April 2013].

¹²⁴ Alfred Harbage, 'Shirley's *The Wedding* and the Marriage of Sir Kenelm Digby', *Philological Quarterly* 16 (1937), 35-40.

second year of the reign of King – Cupid’ i.e. 31 May, in second year of the reign of King Charles I, 1626.¹²⁵ It was probably written for Beeston’s company at the Phoenix, as Shirley was contracted to write two plays a year for them at the time. The Caroline commentator Abraham Wright appreciated the play, writing:

ye Wedding. A comedie by James Shirley. A very good play: both for ye plot and lines truely Shirley's. Beaufords part for a passionate lover very well pend throughout. And in ye 4th acte ye scene beetwixt Lodam and Rawbone, 2 arrant cowards who had challenged one another, is a very good one.¹²⁶

We cannot assume that Wright’s opinion is representative of that of the Caroline readers and theatre-goers at large. But we do know that *The Wedding* was the earliest of Shirley’s plays to be published, in 1629, and it was reprinted in 1633, which suggests a warm reception.¹²⁷ In fact, *The Wedding* was the only play first published between 1629 and 1635 to be given a second edition within five years.¹²⁸ It features, along with *The Grateful Servant*, in William London’s

¹²⁵ Frederick Gard Fleay, *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama, 1559-1642* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1891), p. 236. Nason writes: ‘we may not infer from the fact that Malone gives no record of *The Wedding*, that therefore it was never licensed. Herbert may have entered the play, and Malone have neglected to transcribe the entry.’ *James Shirley, Dramatist*, p. 40.

¹²⁶ British Library MS Add. 22608, p. 82. In Arthur C. Kirsch, ‘A Caroline Commentary on the Drama’, *Modern Philology* 66.3 (1969), 256-261, p. 257.

¹²⁷ James Shirley, *The Wedding As it was lately acted by her Majesties Servants, at the Phenix in Drury Lane*. (London: Printed for John Grove, 1629); *The Wedding As it was lately acted by her Majesties Servants, at the Phenix in Drury-Lane* (London: Printed John Grove, 1633).

¹²⁸ Farmer and Lesser, ‘Canons and Classics’, p. 26. Although an edition from 1629 survives, the first mention of it in the Stationers’ Register is 25 Sep. 1637, when it was entered by William Leake for John Grove along with *The Grateful Servant*, *The Tragedie of Hoffman* and *Hollands Leaguer*. James Shirley, *The Grateful Servant*, (London: 1630). The copy is held in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Greg, II, 429(a).

Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books in England (1657).¹²⁹ John Grove's bookshop was in Furnival's Inn Gate in Holborn. Allan Stevenson suggests that as Shirley lived nearby, he is likely to have been familiar with this bookshop.¹³⁰ Stevenson goes on to suggest that Shirley retained rights over publication of his own plays, even during the years he was in Ireland.¹³¹ Grove's shop seems to have been acquired by William Cooke in 1631, where subsequent plays of Shirley's were sold.¹³²

The Wedding was not turned over to Cooke when he took over Grove's shop and back catalogue. Instead, it was assigned to William Leake, by virtue of a note under the hand and seale of John Grove, and subscribed by both the wardens 'All the Estate right and Title and Interest which the said John Grove hath I these four plays following – *The Wedding*, *The Tragedy of Hoffman*, *The*

¹²⁹ William London, *A Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books in England Orderly and Alphabetically Digested Under the Heads of Divinity, History, Physick and Chyrurgery, Law, Arithmetick, Geometry, Astrology*. (London: 1657), sig. Fv. Shirley is not given full credit for his plays in London's catalogue. *The Grateful Servant* is listed separately from other plays by Shirley, so that the authorship is not immediately clear to the reader, and it appears to come under plays by 'Mr Strood' (along with *The Floating Island* and *Tragedy of the Famous Roman Orator, M. T. Cicero*). *The Wedding* is stated to be 'a comedy, by Mr Johnson [sic.] and Mr Fletcher.' The catalogue also lists *The Changes* (1632), *A Contention for Honour and Riches* (1633), *The Witty Faire One* (1633), *The Bird in a Cage* (1633), *The Triumph of Peace* (1633[/4]), and *The Traitor* (1635). *The Opportunity* appears to be listed as by Fletcher, while *The Ball*, *The Example*, *The Gamester* and *The Duke's Mistress* appear to be ascribed to Shakespeare, and *The Country Captain* and *The Variety* to Beaumont and Fletcher.

¹³⁰ Stevenson, 'Shirley's Publishers', p. 140.

¹³¹ Stevenson, 'Shirley's Publishers', p. 143. He cites the dedications to *The Wedding* and *The Grateful Servant*, along with *The School of Complement*, *The Maid's Revenge*, *The Opportunity*, and *The Imposture* as evidence.

¹³² Stevenson notes, 'It is an extraordinary fact that of the thirty-eight books entered to William Cooke in the [Stationers'] Register (alone or with others) thirty-one came from the hands of Shirley and his literary friends.' 'Shirley's Publishers', (p. 141).

Grateful Servant and Holland's Leaguer.¹³³ Leake's reprint made these two plays available not only to Restoration readers, but for Killigrew to select for inclusion in his company's repertoire for the first theatrical season of the Restoration. It went on to be revived at the Red Bull at the beginning of the following theatrical season (September 1660), but no further performances are recorded.¹³⁴

Unimpressed by *The Wedding*, Ben Luow writes of its dissimilarity to Restoration drama. Shirley's other comedies and tragicomedies, for Luow, demonstrate more strongly Shirley's influence on later dramatists, while that play 'has received an unwarranted amount of scholarly attention, for dubious reasons.' He contrasts the 'mindless romanticism' of *The Wedding* with 'abrasive realism of Restoration comedy'.¹³⁵ Luow's conclusions are not necessarily borne out by the facts. Not only does *The Wedding* prefigure Restoration comedy in certain key respects, but the definition of 'Restoration drama' itself needs careful consideration before such a judgement can be made. Killigrew is unlikely to have chosen to stage a play that he felt his audience would not enjoy. Other critical comment suggests fewer disharmonies between *The Wedding* and Restoration drama. In her introduction to the play, Sister Martin Flavin argues

¹³³ Arber (ed.) *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640 AD*, 5 vols (London: Privately Printed, 1887), vol. 4, p. 368.

¹³⁴ *The Wedding* was played at the Red Bull before September 1660, and at Vere St Theatre by the King's Company on 9 Jan. 1659/60 (Van Lennep, *London Stage*, pp. 12 and 23).

¹³⁵ He cites Alfred Harbage, for example, grouped *The Wedding* with 'the sophisticated comedies, *The Ball*, *Hyde Park*, *The Gamester*, and *The Lady of Pleasure*, wherein Shirley anticipated Restoration playwrights by drawing his materials, dangerously sometimes, from contemporary life in fashionable circles', questioning the extent to which Shirley modelled characters 'on Londoners of his time' Luow, *James Shirley*, p. 65. Luow claims in the same paragraph that 'The characters in *The Wedding* are uncomplicated theatrical types. The fools have no 'redeeming qualities', the heroes and heroines subscribe to conventional ideals of honor without question, and the villains are simply villainous', which as we will see in chapter eight, is not necessarily a fair assessment.

that each of the three interwoven plots heightens the comedy of the other two. Not, as Lucow would have it, 'a mere aggregation of situations and characters, but a composite organized into an integrated whole ... capable of producing a great variety of effects'.¹³⁶ The play's central theme of love and honour draws on Fletcher but prefigures later developments, including the vogue for Spanish Romance plays, which I shall look at in chapter five. It also exhibits what Laura Brown terms 'the divided plot', common to many Restoration dramas.¹³⁷ Arthur Stiefel uses *The Wedding* as part of his demonstration of Shirley's reliance on Spanish sources. He claims there is a Spanish source for *The Wedding* but he does not name it. Flavin remarks that Stiefel's statement, and his analysis, has been accepted without question by subsequent scholars. Yet, as Flavin observes, Shirley had 'eclectic habits' and is unlikely to have restricted himself to a single source. *The Wedding* borrows from 'novelle, prose romances, historical chronicles, Italian drama' as well as plays he saw and read, by Shakespeare, Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, Middleton and Massinger.¹³⁸ The possibility of a Spanish source for another play, *The Court Secret*, is discussed in chapter five.

Love Tricks, or The School of Compliment

Like *The Wedding*, the three known editions of this play show almost no variation, except in formatting. Licensed by Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, on the 10 of February, 1624-5, under the name of 'Love Tricks with Compliments', it was first printed in 1631 (Q1), with the title of *The School of Compliment, as Acted at the Private House in Drury Lane*. Two further editions were published, in 1637 and 1661 (Q2 and Q3 respectively hereafter). Q1 and

¹³⁶ James Shirley, *The Wedding, A Critical Edition*, edited by Sister Martin Favin (New York: Garland Publishing, 1980), p. 46.

¹³⁷ Laura Brown, 'The divided plot: tragicomic form in the Restoration' *English Literary History* 47.1 (1980), 67-79. See also Robert D. Hume, *Development of English Drama*.

¹³⁸ Flavin (ed.), *The Wedding*, pp. 20-21.

Q3 differ in length, reduced from seventy-eight pages to fifty-nine, and much of the reduction in the number of pages required to print it is achieved through setting the lines out as prose, rather than as verse. This is in keeping with a general shift away from verse drama in comedy (as opposed to heroic drama, which was verse). Their epilogues are the same, but at the end Q3 adds an advertisement for 'most sorts of plays' which one can be 'furnished with' at Thomas Dring's shop at the White Lion in Fleet Street. There are no advertisements in Q1. The most significant difference is a new prologue, quoted above.

Gifford calls the 1667 edition 'very incorrect, several lines being omitted in different places, and nearly the whole of the poetry printed as prose', missing the point that the changes were surely deliberate.¹³⁹ In fact, the 1667 edition is far from an inferior text, and markedly *improves* on the earlier editions in key respects: particularly in its clearer stage directions. While the 1660 reprint of *The Wedding* and the 1661 edition of *Love Tricks* are not significantly changed from their originals, they are exceptional cases. Leake's edition of *The Grateful Servant* has been shortened by some 1500 words, and *The Constant Maid* is augmented. The different versions of these two plays will be studied in chapters three and four. Before that, the late-seventeenth-century edition of Shirley's most frequently revived play, *The Traitor*, demands consideration, regarding how the 1692 edition differs from the first edition, which was published in 1635.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Gifford, *Complete Works of James Shirley*, vol. 1, p. 2.

¹⁴⁰ James Shirley, *The Traitor, A Tragedy, written by James Shirley. Acted by Her Majesties Servants* (London: William Cooke, 1635).

The Traitor

The 1692 edition of *The Traitor* was attributed to Anthony Rivers, as noted above. An intriguing third version of part of the play also exists, in an anonymous manuscript. In 1985, Edward Saunders discovered the document among the papers of Sir John Coke at Melbourne Hall, in Derby. The document is a manuscript apparently containing an early and ultimately rejected version of a scene in *The Traitor*.¹⁴¹ I. A. Shapiro argued that the scene was written by Shirley but then adapted before it was included in the finished play in order to avoid making waves through the obvious similarity between the character Lorenzo and the Duke of Buckingham, the (by then ingloriously deceased) favourite of both James I and Charles I.¹⁴² Nigel Bawcutt, however, argued that the stylistic differences between this fragment and Shirley's *The Traitor* are too great for both to have been written by the same person and suggests instead that 'both dramatists worked from a modified version of *Giovio* which has yet to be found'.¹⁴³ When the piece was first discovered, commentators argued that it had been written by John Webster as part of a (lost) tragedy, referred to as 'The Duke of Florence'.¹⁴⁴ MacD. P. Jackson has extensively investigated the competing claims, and comes down in favour of Shirley's authorship of the fragment.¹⁴⁵ Anthony Hammond and Doreen Delvechio argue that the presence of cancellations and alterations in the manuscript 'strongly suggests authorial

¹⁴¹ A rehearsed reading of the Melbourne Manuscript is available online at www.youtube.com/watch?v=tX5LbPOV6aM (accessed 19 October 2016).

¹⁴² Peter Beal, www.celm-ms.org.uk/introductions/ShirleyJames.html# (accessed 26 April 2016)

¹⁴³ Nigel Bawcutt, 'The Assassination of Alessandro de' Medici in Early Seventeenth-Century English Drama', *Review of English Studies*, NS 56 (June 2005), 412-23, p. 423.

¹⁴⁴ Felix Prior, Anthony Hammond and others, see Beal, www.celm-ms.org.uk/introductions/ShirleyJames.html (accessed October 2016).

¹⁴⁵ MacD. P. Jackson, 'John Webster, James Shirley, and the Melbourne Manuscript', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 19 (2006), 21-44.

reconsideration subsequent to the original drafting of the lines, though not necessarily at a subsequent date'.¹⁴⁶ Here then, we have further evidence of Shirley reworking his lines, seen not only in comparison between the Melbourne MS and the eventual published edition of *The Traitor*, but in the manuscript fragment itself. Hammond and Delvechio describe the author of the manuscript (who they are not convinced is Shirley) as 'addicted to correcting words'. If Shirley is the author, and if the author was 'addicted' to correcting his work as he wrote, and subsequently, it follows that he would feel compelled to continue revising his plays during the Interregnum and Restoration. The 1692 edition was published twenty-six years after the poet's death, but this does not preclude the possibility that the play was edited during Shirley's lifetime, around the time of its revival with a mixed-gender cast on the Restoration stage. This section considers the revisions evident in the later edition, asking who was responsible for the changes. I consider how the unknown editor responds to cultural and sociological shifts, attending to sexual politics in light of the introduction of female actors and audience members.

'The stars do wander and have their divers influence'

As noted above, the 1692 edition of *The Traitor* (Q2) is significantly shorter than the 1635 version (Q1). A number of themes tie together the omitted lines, the most striking of which is astrology, and other outdated superstitions. The first of many references to stars and planets that do not appear in Q2 is Pisano's line:

Pis. Renew thy eye that lookes as *Saturne* hung
 Upon the lid, take in some golden beame,
 Shee'le dart a thousand at one glance (sig. B2).

¹⁴⁶ Anthony Hammond and Doreen Delvechio, 'The Melbourne Manuscript and John Webster: A Reproduction and Transcript', *Studies in Bibliography* 41 (1988), 1-32, p. 4.

If this were the only such reference, it might be understood as a cut designed to remove ‘flowery’ and figurative language from the play in search of a ‘plainer’ style. However, similar omissions continue. In Act Two, a conversation between Cosmo and Oriana - both of whom, we should note, have astronomically-resonant names – omits Cosmo’s lines:

the stars do wander
And have their divers influence, the Elements
Shuffle into innumerable changes,
Our constitution varie, Herbs, and Trees
Admit their Frosts and Summer: (sig. D4v)

To remove Cosmo’s profession of his belief in the wandering and changeable nature of the stars from Q2 suggests a bias on the part of the editor that can be explained by considering the status of astrology in the second half of the seventeenth century. Between the publication of Q1 and Q2, astrology experienced its last ‘golden age’. Astrologers such as John Booker, William Lilly and John Gadbury were key producers of propaganda during the civil wars, but a seismic shift in public attitude to their ‘science’ is marked by the 1659 publication of the first English translation of Pierre Gassendi’s *The Vanity of Judiciary Astrology*.¹⁴⁷ Gassendi (1592-1655) attacked ‘divination by the stars’ and firmly separated it from the related disciplines of astronomy and natural philosophy on the grounds that ‘the Risings and Settings of the Stars are not the Causes, but only Signes of Tempests, and Mutations hapning in the Air;

¹⁴⁷ Pierre Gassendi, *The Vanity of Judiciary Astrology Or Divination by the Stars. Lately written in Latin, by that Great Schollar and Mathematician, the Illustrious Petrus Gassendus; Mathematical Professor to the King of France. Translated into English by a person of quality*, (London: Humphrey Moseley; Giles Calvert, 1659). That this text was published in English translation in 1659 by two competing publishers, indicates its widespread appeal.

contrary to the Vulgar opinion'. This directly rebuts Cosmo's interpretation of his situation, and thus aligns the character with people of 'vulgar opinion'.

Gassendi continues, quoting Epicurus as his source:

the Stars both fixt and erratique they accounted no other then meer
Signes of those particular times, wherein the Sun and other Causes do
usually concurr to the generation of Heat, Rain, Winds, and the like
mutations in the Air.¹⁴⁸

Cosmo's faith in the influence of the stars on the weather as well as the lives of individuals was orthodox thinking in 1635, but in 1692, more than three decades after the publication of Gassendi's criticism, adherence to such beliefs would undermine the character in the eyes of the audience, making him appear credulous and ill-educated.

Gassendi is particularly emphatic regarding the practice of divination by casting the nativity of an individual, that is, plotting the positions of the astrological bodies in the sky at the exact time of birth, relative to their exact locations, and using this to predict both character traits and life events. 'How Astrologers can attain to any certainty not only of the almost insensible intervals of time, but even of half an hour over or under the true moment of an Infants Nativity?' demands Gassendi.¹⁴⁹ Another short line removed from the same speech of Cosmo's, moves the character away from expressing faith in this illogical pseudo-science: 'that's no such fault as the world goes', Cosmo says, referring to the conviction of reason. This line, when followed by the claim that 'the stars so wander and have their divers influence', suggests that Cosmo believes in predetermination regulated by the astrological bodies, as opposed to the free will and moral responsibility of the individual. The

¹⁴⁸ Gassendi, *Vanity*, p. 15.

¹⁴⁹ Gassendi, *Vanity*, p. 96.

character of the Duke is similarly cleared of this charge in Q2 by the omission of this part of his speech to Amidea in Act Three:

thou hast a quarrell,
and a just one with thy Stars, that did note make thee
A Princess *Amidea*, yet th'art greater,
and borne to justifie unto these times
A Queene of Love, *Venus*, was but thy figure,
And all her graces prophesies of thine,
to make our last age best; (sig. F2v)

This editorial choice removes the blasphemous suggestion that humans should look to the stars (as opposed to God) to blame for their station in life. The casting of nativities was considered doctrinally suspect, if not outright blasphemy. Bernard Capp explains that the objections fell broadly into two categories, one based on the idea that the faith in the controlling power of the stars would supplant God, 'undermining his power and distracting men's attention', and an allied concern that 'there could be no place for moral responsibility' if human actions were determined by the position of the stars at the moment of their birth.¹⁵⁰

Cosmo separates himself from 'jealous lovers' who believe in judiciary astrology in Q2; other lines are cut from his speech to Cosmo in the crucial opening scene, when the audience's or reader's opinion of the character is formed, but a speech that is scathing towards 'questioning' the 'unkind stars' is retained.

Cos. What misfortune can approach

¹⁵⁰ Bernard Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs 1500-1800* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1979), p. 131.

Your happy love in fairest *Amidea*. [...]
 Let jealous, lovers feare and feele what tis
 To languish, talke away their blood, and strength,
 Question their unkinde starres, you have game
 Before you sir.

This speech is retained precisely because it emphasises that Cosmo, a character intended to elicit our sympathy, distances himself from those of ‘vulgar opinion’ who believe in their horoscopes.

When a character with whom we are also meant to empathise expresses belief in horoscopes, it is removed from Q2. In Act Two, in Q1 Sciarrah exclaims

Sci. Of that I knew that happy Starres did governe
 At thy Nativity: It were no sinne
 To adore their influence.
Am. What meanes my brother?
Flo. He's transported.
Am. I shall suspect your health.
Sci. I easily could forget I am *Sciarrha*,
 And fall in love my selfe. (sig. D)

The omission of Sciarrah's lines improves the reader's impression of the character in two ways. By removing his casual reference to the stars that ‘did Govern / thy Nativity’, as if the existence of such astrological forces were unequivocal fact, and by removing his contentious claim that it is not a sin to adore the influence of the stars. Sciarrah's character is further exonerated, in the same speech, from charges of incestuous feeling toward his sister, Amidea. A long and flattering description of her is retained in Q2, but by beginning it: ‘Is she not faire / ... I could turne Poet...’ the incestuous attraction gives way to a

purely platonic expression of brotherly admiration. The full extent of Sciarrah's effusions on this note are trimmed away, with the removal of four lines from Q1:

And he that shall arrive at so much boldnesse,
To say his Mistress eyes, or voice, or breath,
Are halfe so bright, so cleare, so sweete, as thine,
Hath told the world enough of miracle. (sig. D)

The resultant speech is much more controlled, both in terms of appropriate affection toward a sibling, and cleared of star-worship.

'Sprightly bed scenes' and 'witty blasphemy'

In the case of less sympathetic characters, such as the 'wanton Duke', references to astrology and superstition are not necessarily removed, since the negative impact this has on the audience's (or reader's) judgement of them is desirable. However, even the Duke's sexual predatoriness is dialled down. In Act Three, as the Duke attempts to seduce Amidea she asks him 'What mean you?' In both versions, he replies that the question is 'timely', otherwise:

hadst
Not interrupted me, I should ha lost
My selfe upon thy lips, and quite forgot
There is a blisse beyond it (sig. F3; p. 29).

In Q1, the Duke goes on to make it clear that the 'blisse beyond' kissing her that he intends to experience is sexual. He differentiates himself from 'others' content with looking at her face and hearing her voice:

which I came for:

Let others satisfie themselves to reade
 The wonders in thy face, make proud their eyes,
 By seeing thine, turne statues at thy voice,
 And thinke they never fixe enough to heare thee.
 A man halfe dead with famine, would wish here
 To feed on smiles, of which the least hath power
 To call an Anchorite from his prayers, tempt Saints
 To wish their bodies on, thou dost with ease
 Captivate Kings with every beame, and maist
 Lead them like prisoners round about the world,
 Proud of such golden chaines; this were enough,
 Had not my Fate provided more, to make me
 Beleeve my selfe immortal in thy touches,
 Come to thy bed, (sig. F3)

In Q2, the above is omitted so that the Duke's 'blisse beyond' seems to be directly associated with 'Elizium' when he continues:

hadst

Not interrupted me, I should ha lost
 My selfe upon thy lips, and quite forgot
 There is a blisse beyond it, transforme me there to happinesse;
 Ile laugh at all the fables of the gods,
 And teach our poets after I know thee,
 To write the true *Elizium*. (sig. F3, p. 29)

Although the mention of the 'bed' as the place where Amidea is to 'transform' the Duke 'to happiness', is absent in Q2 the sexual invitation is conveyed nonetheless. The text omitted from the Duke's speech is his scathing

description of the idealised Neoplatonic lovers of French romance literature. Those who 'turn statues', at the sound of Amidea's voice and 'feed' on her smiles. His own intentions, he assures her, are more carnal. He avoids taking direct responsibility for this by claiming that his 'fate' has given him this desire.

The editor has not cleared the Duke entirely of lustfulness or attempted to imply that his interest in Amidea is platonic and godly. It would not be possible to entirely censor the sexual implications in this scene without making nonsense of the rest of the play. However, the removal of almost fifteen lines of sexual harassment would impact significantly on the job of the actor playing Amidea. A woman playing the role on the Restoration stage was placed in a precarious position, which does not apply to the boys playing the same role in the private Caroline playhouses, and indeed such scenes are commonplace.¹⁵¹ They become so again later in the Restoration period, most notably in the work of Aphra Behn. But, in the early days after the introduction of the actress, in a public theatre in which there was no security preventing audience members from making their way into the dressing rooms, and which had steps leading directly from the pit where the audience was seated onto the stage, any reduction in the length of time an actress was forced to stand onstage and be the object of sexual harassment must have been welcome.¹⁵²

In Act Two, Sciarrah's description of the behaviour of the ladies at court is significantly cut. Answering his own rhetorical question 'what do great ladies doe at court, I pray?', Sciarrah's judgement 'Enjoy the pleasures of the world, dance, kisse / The Amorous Lords', is retained, but the following is removed:

¹⁵¹ Katherine Eisman Maus, 'Playhouse Flesh and Blood: Sexual Ideology and the Restoration Actress' *ELH* 46 (1979), 595-617; Elizabeth Howe, *The First English Actresses: Women and Drama 1660-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

¹⁵² Howe, *English Actresses*, pp. 32-33.

and change Court breath, sing loose
 Beleefe of other, heaven, tell wanton dreames,
 Rehearse your sprightly bed-scenes, and boast, which
 Hath most idolaters, accuse all faces,
 That trust to the simplicity of nature,
 Talke witty blasphemy,
 Discourse their gawdy wardrobes, plot new pride,
 Jest upon Courtiers legs, laugh at the wagging
 Of their owne feathers and a thousand more
 Delights, which private Ladies never thinke of:
 But above all and wherein thou shalt make
 All other beauties envy thee, the Duke
 The Duke himselfe shall call thee his, and single
 From faire troope, thy person forth, to exchange
 Embraces with, lay seige to these soft lips,
 And not remove, till he hath suck'd thy heart,
 Which soone dissolv'd with they sweete breath, shall be
 Made part of his, at the same instant, he
 Conveying a new soule into thy breast,
 With a creating kisse. (sig. Dv)

Parts of the middle of the speech are retained, so that Q2 continues 'and a thousand more / Delights, which private Ladies never thinke of: / But above all / The Duke himself shall call thee his'. Amidea's response, 'you make me wonder / Pray speake that I may understand' is retained, but the beginning of Sciarrah's rejonder, 'Why will you / Appeare so ignorant? I speake the dialect / Of *Florence* to you' is removed. In the same conversation, one other line from the middle of a speech of Sciarrah's is cut, 'I hope / We are not the first ha bin advanc'd by a wagtaile:' (sig. D2). While this speech is evidently misogynistic, and after the Restoration there were women in the audience and acting

companies, proto-feminist instincts are not the most likely motive for the cut. After all, there was plenty of misogyny and disparagement of women in other Restoration plays. This speech is omitted in part because it is long-winded and does not add to the plot, and in part because it is an interjection into a Caroline conversation about courtly *mores* that had long-since ended. *The Traitor*, like *The Grateful Servant*, can be read as a case study scrutinising the advice that was flowing into the English court from the continent, particularly from France, in the form of conduct books. Shirley's response to this zeitgeist in the latter play is discussed further in the next chapter.

Oriana and I were but in treaty

Cosmo's meditation on friendship, beginning 'While I have art to helpe thee? ... Howsoever / I were not worthy to be calld his friend, / Whom I preferd to a Mistris' is heavily cut in Q2. Only the most salient part of that speech, 'Oriana / And I were but in treaty' is retained. Since the line then continues 'If / You can find dispensation, to quit / With Amidea, your first love, be confident Oriana may be wonne...' there is a shift in emphasis in Q2 from the Neoplatonic dilemma over whether Cosimo and Pisano's friendship is more important than their romantic relationships, toward a focus on the legal technicalities of common law marriage.¹⁵³ This issue became topical in 1653 when the Puritan regime transferred jurisdiction over marriage to Justices of the Peace, while interest in Neoplatonism waned. As if to signal that the scene is about to become a dramatisation of *The Book of the Courtier*, in Q1 Pisano says 'La now! / And to discourse' (sig. B1v). This line is not retained in Q2.¹⁵⁴ In fact, Q2 makes less of the Pisano's engagement to Amidea by omitting Cosmo's lines,

¹⁵³ See Christopher Lasch, 'The Suppression of Clandestine Marriage in England: The Marriage Act of 1753', *Salmagundi* 26 (1974), 90-109, p. 94.

You have been long contracted, and have past
 The tedious hope, *Himen*, doth only waite
 An opportunity to light his torch,
 Which will burne glorious at your nuptiall. (sig. B1v)

In Q2, Cosmo does not mention the 'contract' between Amidea and Cosmo, referring only to their 'happy love'.

Cosmo provides further elaboration on the question of the validity of the promise between lovers, when he tells Oriana that a woman can and should move on from one lover to another, if she perceives 'greater merit' in him:

For what have I to ingrosse the affection
 Of any Lady, if she can disceerne
 A greater merit in some other man:
 Wisdome forbid, but she command her smiles,
 To warme and cherish him. (sig. D4v)

In the first act the Duke's metaphysical musing on friendship, regarding Lorenzo, 'had I beene / In heaven, I could have lent him my eternitie,' is cut. His familial greeting 'Good Morrow Couze' (to Lorenzo) is also omitted. Here Q2 de-emphasises the extent of the closeness between the Duke and Lorenzo, and it is not the only instance in which it does so. The same effect is achieved by the omission of Sciarrah's observation, 'we all know it, that you [Lorenzo] dwell / In's bosome, great in favour, as in blood'.

Was the 1692 edition set from a promptbook?

While the editorial changes we have seen evident in Q2 might be described as an improvement, at least if we evaluate them on their own terms -

that is, in the light of their literary and cultural context - in many cases, Q2 is the poorer text. Some of the omissions create confusion, because speech headings are not carefully attended to. Often, where the beginning of a speech is cut, two or more speeches fuse together, creating a false impression of which character is speaking. For example:

Cos. Ha.

Pet. Your doublet pinch you, Sir? I cannot tell;
But nere a woman in the world should make
Me hang my selfe, it may be for his honour,
Hee'le choose another death, hee is not about one];
For 'tis not possible without some sure,
He should live long, he has forgot to sleepe,
And for his dyet, h'as not eate this se'night
As much as would choake a Sparrow, a Flie is
An Epicure to him: Good sir, doe you counsell him.

So, so, it workes;

Exit Cos.

This was my Lord *Lorenzoes* plot, and I
Ha' beene his Engine in the worke, to batter
His love to *Amidea*, by praying
Oriana to him, he is here, my Lord. (sigs. B2v-B3)

In Q2, this conversation is conflated into one speech, as the speech heading 'Pet' is lost, implying that Cosmo speaks the whole:

Cosmo, Ha!

For 'tis not possible without some cure,
He should live long:
Good Sir, do you go in and Counsel him.

So, so, it workes;

Exit Cos.

This was my Lord Lorenzoes Plot, and I
 Ha' been his Engine in the work, to batter
 His love to Amidea, by praying
 Oriana to him, he his here, My Lord. (p. 4)

Even more absurdly, the stage direction is left in place, so that Cosmo appears to exit in the middle of delivering his own speech. This is clearly an error that emerges from the editor's failure to make clear to the typesetter that the speech heading '*Pet*' ought to be retained, even though the first part of his speech is cut. This does not seem to be the work of an individual taking particular care and working from a clean copy of Q1 to produce a new reader's edition.

Not all of the stage directions are confusing. In the same scene, 1.1, an exit is carefully added for Petruchio to replace one lost in the middle of another cut (p. 4). As a result, Petruchio exits some twenty lines earlier than he does in Q1, but this creates no confusion, and may even be preferable since he leaves immediately after delivering his last line. It is clear that this edit has been made judiciously since the words 'harke, Petruchio' are also cut from a line of Pisano's that falls between the new exit marked for Petruchio and the original exit. Q2 also omits Pisano's utterance, 'Away' and two words, 'let's follow' are cut from Cosmo's final line. Q2 thus ends on Cosmo's speech 'but loose no time', which adds to the sense of urgency of the scene, and the scene ends with a faint allusion to the Neoplatonic friendship literature that Q1 engages with more closely, in Pisano's succinct exclamation, 'Thou Miracle of Friendship' (p. 5).

In an amendment to the dialogue in Act Two, Q2 avoids an obvious error in Q1, but introduces a new one. In Q1, Sciarrah responds to Amidea's firm resolution to refuse to become the Duke's Mistress, and to 'Stand in the ivory Register of Virgins' with, 'Let me kill thee / My excellent chast sister...' possibly a misprint for 'let me kiss thee', which would make much more sense, since

Sciarrah approves of her choice and in this speech confesses that 'I did but try your virtues' by proposing that she submit to the Duke's sexual request. In Q2, Sciarrah says 'He embraces em' (p. 15), which also makes little sense as Sciarrah is not usually prone to referring to himself in the third person, or narrating his actions. A few lines later, Q2 includes a stage direction not present in Q1: '*Emb. him.*' (p. 16). This odd line can be explained if the stage direction calling for the actors to embrace was noted twice in the promptbook, leading the typesetter of Q2 to incorporate one of them into a line of dialogue. The reason for the double occurrence of the stage direction is probably that the first note was positioned near a line that had been struck out. This explanation makes sense if Q2 was set from a promptbook.¹⁵⁵

In the same part of the scene, a stage direction 'Enter a Servant' (sig. D2v) is moved to a more sensible place in Q2, the line *before* the servant speaks, rather than four lines afterwards. It is also abbreviated to '*Ent. a Serv.*' in Q2 (p. 16). This may suggest that a prompter has amended the original text. It may be that a prompter would pay careful attention to the entrances of such minor roles, since they were likely to be taken by inexperienced actors, who may have needed particular support. Yet again, in the same act, the servant has entrances and exits that do not appear in Q2, and which appear to have been added to Q1 by hand. Q1 has '*Enter Morosa, and Oriana in the garden*' (sig. D3v), where Q2 has '*Enter Morosa, and Oriana in the garden, and Servant*' (p. 17). No exit is marked for the servant in Q1 (sensibly enough, since he never entered and had no lines) but one is added for him in Q2, after Morosa's line 'yet if *Pisano* / Enquire, direct him to the Garden'. The presence and exit of the servant does explain to whom Morosa should direct this line, which is not at all clear in Q1. Moments later, the servant re-enters. This time, Q1 notes the entrance, but not the exit (sig. D4). Q2 records both the entrance (in the same place as in Q1, in

¹⁵⁵ Forsythe suggested that the 1692 edition of *The Traitor* 'was probably printed from the prompter's book of the original play'. *James Shirley*, p. 33.

the centre of the line) and the exit (in the margin after Pisano's lines 'There's for thy paines.' (p. 17) which, again, makes sense as a cue for a servant to exit. In the same act, Q1's 'Exit' is correctly amended to 'Exeunt' in Q2 since both Pisano and Cosmo exit, as is made clear slightly later when Cosmo returns. (sig. D3v, p. 16).

Another reason for supposing that Q2 is derived from a promptbook is that some of its choices seem to be helpful to the actor, and it is possible some of the decisions made in the theatre to omit lines from the original script were made by the performers themselves, leaving the prompter merely to note the cuts for his own benefit. The second act is the most heavily edited. A little over 100 lines are cut - only thirty lines each are cut from acts one and three, and sixty each from acts four and five. The first cut in Act Two purges a superfluous passage from Sciarrah's opening speech to Lorenzo, that would make the actor's job harder. Regarding 'patience', he says:

yet keep't a little longer,
It were a sinne to have it, such an injury
Deserves a wrath next to your owne,

Without these lines, the speech come across more forcefully:

My sister, though hee be the Duke, he dares not,
Patience, patience, if there be such a vertue,
I want it heaven, [...]

my sister?

It has throwne wild-fire in my brain *Lorenzo*.

The three-line consideration of the merits of patience does seem to detract from the sense of a man experiencing wild fire in his brain.

Later in the same scene, the conversation between Lorenzo and Sciarrah is heavily cut, beginning with Lorenzo's line:

what
 When you were at least your selfe? (as we are all)
 Fraile compositions) did appeare so wicked
 In you, he should conceive a hope, and flatter
 Himselfe with possibility, to corrupt
 Your soule to a deed so monstrous?

'Lo. ... And tempted the betraying of your name / to infamy,' is also cut.

Sciarrah's next long speech is substantially shortened; in full, it appears as:

'I doe want breath, my voice is ravisht from me.
 I am not what I was, or if I be,
Sciarrah thou hast talkt too, all this while
 Looke heedfully about me, and thou maist
 Discover through some cranny of my flesh,
 A fire within, my soul is but one flame,
 Extended to all parts of this fraile building,
 I shall to ashes, I begin to shrink,
 Is not already my complexion alter'd
 Does not my face looke parchd, and my skin gather
 Into a heape? my breath is hot enough
 To thaw the *Alpes*.

This is reduced to:

I am not what I was,

My soul is but one flame,
 My breath is hot enough
 To thaw the *Alpes*.

The page layout here indicates that the typesetter was working from an annotated version of Q1, rather than a fresh manuscript, because it follows the lineation of the original, and in spite of the fact that the final two lines make up one line of iambic pentameter, they have not been rearranged as such. The editor has not attempted to rephrase the first two lines to make up a single line of verse, though they are two lines of six syllables each which might have produced a line of iambic pentameter relatively easily.

All of the lines belonging to Frederico, a minor character, are omitted, along with a reference to him in another character's line, indicating that the character (who does very little) is removed from the scene altogether. A trace remains in one speech heading, but this is for a speech which in Q1 is Pisano's. The heading '*Fred*' has crept into Q2 because the first line of Pisano's speech, which follows Frederico's one line, '*Pis. Wo'd hee were come backe.*' is moved earlier. Presumably the typesetter failed to notice the speech heading '*Pis*' because it was crossed out, and wrongly attributed Pisano's lines to Frederico. Again, this is a likely eventuality if Q2 was set from an edited copy of Q1. When Morosa and Oriana enter in Act Two, Morosa's motherly advice to her daughter, 'You shu'd not rashly give away your heart / Nor must you without me dispose yourself' (sig. D3v) is taken out, so that the scene starts with her instruction, 'Pray give access to none – yet if *Pisano*/ Enquire, direct him to the garden,' (sig. D4). In Q1 is unclear to whom this is addressed, but Q2's addition of a servant to that scene makes more sense of the line, since it reads more like instruction to a servant than to her daughter.

The evidence that the 1692 edition of *The Traitor* was set from a promptbook used from 1660 until it was turned over to the two central-London Stationers, Sam Biscoe and Richard Parker, is strong. If the edition was indeed set from a promptbook, it gives us not only invaluable information about how the King's Company adapted it for its production, but the date at which it dropped it from regular repertoire. Acting companies were not in the habit of selling off promptbooks that were still in use. The fact that two stationers printed it and emphasised on the title page that it was an updated version of a classic show that Shirley was considered a dramatist worthy a place in collectors' volumes of seventeenth-century drama. We will return in the final chapter to the question of why the actors abandoned the last of Shirley's plays in their repertoire in the final decade of the seventeenth century, compared to a dramatist whose fame followed the opposite trajectory, from less popular in the first decade of the Restoration to the very forefront of the canon: Shakespeare. The fact that the nature of the editing is so similar to that of *The Grateful Servant*, and the promptbooks of *The Constant Maid* and *Love's Cruelty*, makes it seem very likely that Q2 of *The Traitor*, along with the other two Restoration printings, were set from promptbooks. It is to these that we turn in the next two chapters.

Chapter 3

The Grateful Servant: 'A pretty good play, and which I have forgot that I ever did see'

Downes, as we saw in chapter one, noted that the Duke's Company's production of *The Grateful Servant* in 1666 was deservedly successful commercially. In the absence of further reviews or records from the theatre, what we can learn about this performance comes from the Restoration edition of the play. Comparing the Restoration edition with its Caroline counterpart reveals ways in which the play might have been adapted for a post-war audience. The ways in which the Caroline play was adapted to make it as 'beneficial' to the company of actors as newly-written ones are captured in these subtle differences.

In 1664, Richard Flecknoe identified a move towards streamlining:

A good Play shu'd be like a good stuff, closely and evenly wrought, without any breakes, thrums, or loose ends in 'um, or like a good Picture well painted and designed; the Plot or Contrivement, the Design, the Writing, the Coloris, and Counterplot, the Shaddowings, with other Embellishments: or finally, it shu'd be like a well contriv'd Garden, cast into Walks and Counterwalks, betwixt an Alley and a Wilderness, neither too plain, nor too confus'd.¹⁵⁶

For Flecknoe, the

¹⁵⁶ Richard Flecknoe, *A Short Discourse of the English Stage*, in *Love's Kingdom: A Pastoral Trage-Comedy, With a Short Treatise of the English Stage* (London: Printed by R. Wood for the author 1664), sig. G5v.

chief faults of [English drama, as opposed to French], are our huddling too much matter together, and making them too long and intricate; we imagining we never have intrigue enough, till we lose our selves and Auditors, who shu'd be led in a Maze, but not a Mist; and to through turning and winding ways ... they may finde their way at last.¹⁵⁷

It is possible that the reference to 'a Maze' above may have been a nod to *Love in a Maze*, which was in the King's Company repertoire in 1664. Flecknoe is not remembered as a particularly successful playwright, so his opinions should not stand as our only guide to Restoration taste. However, John Dryden later expressed the same fear of losing the audience: shortening the running time of the play, was, he explained in his 1690 preface to *Don Sebastian*, necessary, to avoid trying the patience of Restoration audiences:

Tis an ill ambition of us poets to please an audience with more than they can bear: and supposing that we wrote as well as vainly we imagine ourselves to write; yet we ought to consider that no man can bear to be long tickled. There is a nauseousness in a City feast when we are to sit four hours after we are cloyed.¹⁵⁸

In Dryden's opinion, the material cut was 'the most poetical parts, which are descriptions, images, similitudes, and moral sentences'. Dryden goes on to state that it was Thomas Betterton, (*bap.* 1635, *d.* 1710), the well-known actor and theatre manager, who 'judiciously lopped' the play, removing 'above twelve hundred lines'. Dryden praises Betterton's work: 'the connection of the story was not lost' though he mourns the fact that in Betterton's abbreviated script,

¹⁵⁷ Flecknoe, 'Short Discourse', sig. G5v. Flecknoe and Shirley shared a patron, William Cavendish, Marquis of Newcastle, and Flecknoe's publication is dedicated to Newcastle.

¹⁵⁸ John Dryden, preface to *Don Sebastian*, in *John Dryden: Of Dramatic Poesy and Other Critical Essays*, edited by George Watson (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1962), vol. 2, pp. 44-5.

‘some part of the action’ came on without ‘that due preparation which is required to all great events’ and as such he reinstated the lines for the printed edition.

Similar editorial impulses are evident in the Restoration editions of *The Traitor*, *Love’s Cruelty* and *The Grateful Servant*, in which descriptive and emotive passages that do not directly advance the plot are removed. The lines omitted are often similar to what Langhans labels ‘flowery passages’ which are routinely weeded out in the promptbooks of Shirley’s plays, Something I shall discuss in section four.¹⁵⁹ A detailed look at the cuts suggests some possible motives for them. In this chapter I examine some key examples of the passages cut from the Restoration editions of *The Grateful Servant* and the reasons for the choices made by the editor. I will refer to the 1630, 1637 and 1660 editions of *The Grateful Servant* as Q1, Q2 and Q3 respectively.

‘No Babel Compositions to Amaze the Tortured Reader’

The editor of Q3 leans towards a plainer style of speech, in keeping with contemporary literary fashion. As Dryden and Flecknoe explain, rhetorical flourish was less popular in plays after the Restoration, and lines that add little or nothing to the plot are less frequent in Restoration drama than they are in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods. The early Restoration theatres also favoured prose as a more direct style of speech, which lends itself to delivery directly to the audience in asides, than plays written for the private theatres in the Caroline period. (The well-known fashion for heroic drama in rhymed couplets came later).¹⁶⁰ This tendency is in keeping with the values of the Restoration identified by Richard Kroll; ‘the articulation of the new empiricism in matters relating to law’ found in the philosophy of Thomas Hobbes (1588-

¹⁵⁹ Langhans, *Restoration Promptbooks*, p. 36.

¹⁶⁰ See Hume, *Development*, p. 250.

1679) and John Locke (1632-1704), the scientific endeavours of Robert Boyle (1627-1691), the scepticism of Gassendi, and the natural philosophy and antiquarianism of Walter Charleton (1619-1707), ‘accompanies a deep scepticism about language’.¹⁶¹ Kroll suggests that in Dryden’s *Absolom and Achitophel*, ‘divine agency restores not so much the order of things as the order of language’.¹⁶²

Massinger noted Shirley’s comparatively restrained use of language in his dedication to the 1630 edition of the play:

Here are no forc'd expressions, no rack'd phrase
 No Babel compositions to amaze
 The tortur'd reader ... but all so well
 Express'd and order'd, as wise men must say,
 It is a grateful poem, a good play.

That the style of the play had been noted for its lack of ‘forc’d expressions’ suggests perhaps why Leake saw fit to republish it in 1660. However, the Restoration editor found further opportunities to update the play by cutting it.

We can see the careful nature of the editing, and its achievement of a cleaner style in Q3 in Foscari’s speech from 2.1:

Fosc. ... Be thou not an enemy

¹⁶¹ Richard Kroll, ‘The Nod of God’, in *The Material World: Literate Culture in the Restoration and Early-Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), pp. 305-321, (p. 309).

¹⁶² Kroll, ‘Nod of God’, p. 305. Anne Greenfield and Peter Dyson also find that Davenant made the play, “on all levels more explicit”, Greenfield, ‘Davenant’s Lady Macduff: Ideal Femininity and Subversive Politics’, *Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700* 37.1 (2013): 39-60 (p. 40).

To her and mee, I see thou art unwilling,
 To this imployment, if th'ast any wish
 To see me happy, to preserve my life,
 And honour, which was never more engag'd,
 If I shall thinke thou art not very wicked,
 A false dissembling boy, deny me not
 This office, use what circumstance thou wilt,
 To thrive in this report, and thy sad breath,
 Shall give a fained, save a real death. *Exit* (Q1, 2.1)

Is replaced with a shorter, perfunctory statement in Q3:

Fosc. ... Be not thou an enemy
 To her and me, but do it, or never see more. *Exit.* (Q3, 2.1)

This instance is unusual in that the deleted lines are replaced with another phrase; in most instances lines are simply removed.

In 2.1, one of Dulcino's lines is abbreviated and the excessively descriptive passage removed (text not included in Q3 is indicated in square brackets).

Dulc. ... she did read
 And kisse the paper often, [mingled questions,
 some half propounded, as her soule had been
 Too narrow, to receive what you had writ,
 She quite forgot.] (Q1, 2.1, Q3 sigs. D3r-D3v).

All of the description of the love-sick Cleona reading the letter, which informed her that her beloved was not, as she believed, dead, is removed. The editor also strikes Dulcino's metaphysical musing that it seemed as if Cleona's soul was 'too narrow' to contain the emotion she felt upon receiving the letter. The result is a terse statement, which nonetheless conveys the sense of Cleona's pleasure: 'she did read / And kisse the paper often'. This preference for conveying information in the most succinct way possible continues throughout Q3.

It is not only the romance that is dialled down in Q3 through the removal of expressions such as 'he said you were / Both starre and Pilote', and 'my joys will be too mighty for me' (p. 21) but also angry, emotional outbursts, such as one from Lodowick: 'must I voyce it like the Towne Cryer, and ramme it into your head with noyse'. The remaining speech reads:

Lodw. Yet againe, you have not been obseru'd so dull, in businesse of this supple Nature. (p. 49)

Again, Q3 presents a factual observation, and the force of Lodowick's emotional response is lost. The play was shortened, evidently by stripping away rhetorical flourishes, but the editorial interventions are not as simple as that, as we will see.

Processing the Interregnum

Abraham Wright's commentary on *The Grateful Servant* includes the ambiguous phrase 'to take the court' suggesting that Wright may have believed that Shirley deliberately drew parallels in his play with the Caroline Court, or that he wrote it with a courtly audience in mind:

A good play. ye plot well contriued and smooth: ye lines (set and) full of Compliment, as indeed all his are, and I beeleeve purposely so studied by him for to take ye court. Jocomo, a part well expressed for ye humour of a foolish ambitious fellow.¹⁶³

It is well documented that Early-Modern audiences looked for parallels with their contemporaries in the drama they witnessed, and Wright's comment would seem to endorse this.¹⁶⁴ It follows that a person preparing a play for the press in the drastically altered political arena of the years preceding the Restoration may have sought to purge it of awkward or potentially inflammatory political parallels. Indeed, as Nancy Klein Maguire points out, the overwhelming majority of Restoration playwrights were themselves intimately connected with Royalist circles and the Stuart court, or had fought on the side of the King in the war, along with a number of the actors.¹⁶⁵ Like the acting company and the playwrights, the audience was populated with people still recovering from the recent trauma. One of the most striking omissions from Q3 of *The Grateful Servant* demonstrates how even a play that could have had nothing to do with the Civil War when it was written nonetheless contained a detail which might have been an awkward reminder of Cromwell, had it been allowed to stand:

Duke. I hope she has no faith in dreames.
[Fosc. And yet
Divinity hath oftentimes descended
Upon our slumbers, and the blessed troupes

¹⁶³ Wright, p. 78v, in Kirsch, 'Caroline Commentary', p. 257.

¹⁶⁴ William A. Armstrong, 'The Audience of the Elizabethan Private Theatres', *Review of English Studies* 10 (1959), 234-249 (p. 247).

¹⁶⁵ Nancy Klein Maguire, *Regicide and Restoration: English Tragicomedy, 1660-1671* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 17-21.

Have in the calme, and quiet of the Soule,
 Convers'd with us, taught men and women happy
 Wayes to prevent a tyrants rage, and lust.
Duke. But this was some most false malicious Spirit,
 That would insinuate with her white Soule,
 There's danger if she cherish the infusion.]
Fosc. She cannot tell, she hath some feares my Lord,
 Great men have left examples of their vice,
 [And yet no jalousie of you, but what
 A myracle doth urge, if this be one;]
 If you but once more say you love Cleona,
 And speake it unto me, and to the Angels,
 Which in her prayers, she hath invoked to heare you,
 She will be confident, [and tell her dreame,
 She cannot be illuded.]¹⁶⁶

This reference to a dream vision teaching mortals 'wayes to prevent a tyrants rage' is reminiscent of Oliver Cromwell's claim that he was visited in a dream and told he would rise to become the greatest man in England. Foscari's claim that 'divinity' visits 'blessed troupes' in their sleep to 'teach them ways to prevent a tyrant's rage', seems to endorse the Regicide. It is a suggestion that would not have sat well with a Royalist audience, still reeling from the shock of Cromwell's enactment of his dream vision. This awkward resonance did not exist when the play was first printed and staged, but Restoration readers would hardly have missed it. All mention of the dream vision is omitted, and it is clear from the pattern of cuts that they have been made deliberately and carefully.

¹⁶⁶ Shirley, *The Grateful Servant* (London: Printed for John Grove, 1629), p. 46. Throughout this chapter, page references are to this edition, unless stated otherwise.

The Interregnum was a notably superstitious time. Dream-based prognostications were circulated by both sides of the conflict. James Douglas, for example, published details of a dream vision supposedly experienced by Charles I before his death, as well as his own visions.¹⁶⁷ But, as Janine Rivière points out, after the Restoration, educated people turned sharply away from belief in dream visions.¹⁶⁸ If the motive was to remove any superstitious belief in dreams from Foscari's character, it suggests an editor refining the character to make him a more appealing hero to a new generation of scientific thinkers in the audience. The Duke of Albrecht, for example, was both a regular theatre-goer and a scientific thinker. He saw Shirley's *The Court Secret* and *The Cardinal* in the 1660s. Kathleen Menzie Lesko notes that Albrecht 'took literally [Sir Francis] Bacon's dictum for learning English by seeing plays'.¹⁶⁹ He was also a founder member of the Royal Society in 1664/5. This kind of audience member would be sceptical of a character expressing faith in dream visions, as well as other superstitious practices, such as astrology, which is another key target for the editor's pen.

Wiseman has argued that 'The process whereby the Civil War was remembered in the Restoration was ... one of simplification and selective

¹⁶⁷ James Douglas, *Strange News From Scotland and their young King his dream concerning England: with the appearing of a wonderful vision to him in the night, and what happened thereupon: together, with his speech to the lords of his privie council; and a dreadful prophesie of Mr. Douglas a Scotchman, written by his own hand, and sent to their young King, full of wonder and admiration; wherein he fortells the great things that shall befall his person, this present year 1651* (London: Printed by J. C., 1651). Archbishop William Laud, a target of Shirley's satire, also recorded thirty-two of his own dreams in his private diary, as Charles Carlton discusses in 'The Dream Life of Archbishop Laud', *History Today* 36 (1986), 9-14.

¹⁶⁸ Janine Rivière, "'Visions of the Night': The Reform of Popular Beliefs in Dreams in Seventeenth-Century England', *Parergon* 20.1 (2003), 109-38 (p. 137).

¹⁶⁹ Kathleen Menzie Lesko, 'Albrecht's Annotated Playtexts'.

forgetting'.¹⁷⁰ It follows that the plays most suitable to this process of selective recollection would be those without allusions to the war, i.e. those written before it had happened. But, as we have already seen, *The Grateful Servant* contains some unfortunate references to tyranny and a challenge to the 'divine right' of the ruler that were carefully blotted out at the end of the Interregnum or beginning of the Restoration. In Act Four, a conversation between the Duke and Foscari has been very selectively edited:

Fosc. Spare your frowns.

[This earth weighs not my Spirit downe, a feare
Would dy the palenesse of my Fathers dust,
Into a blush, Sir many are alive,
Will sweare, I did not tremble at a Canon,
When it strooke thunder in mine eare, and wrapt
My head in her blew mists,] it is not breath
Can fright a noble truth, nor is there Magicke
I'th person of a King [that playes the Tyrant,
But a good Sword can easily uncharme it,]

Duke. You threaten us.

Fosc. Heaven avert so black a thought,
Though in my honours cause I can be flame,
My blood is frost to treason [make me not
Bely my heart, for I doe love Cleona?
And my bold heart tels me, above all height,
You can affect her with, no birth or state
Can challenge a Prerogitive in love;
Nay be nor partiall, and you shall ascribe
To mine loves victory, for though] I admit
You value her above your Dukedome, heath;

¹⁷⁰ Wiseman, *Drama and Politics*, p. 217.

That you would sacrifice your blood to avert
 Any mishap should threaten that deare head,
 All this is but above yourself, but I
 Love her above herself...¹⁷¹

Q3 omits the passages marked above in square brackets. It is clear that the editor has thought carefully about preserving the sense of the speech, cutting alternate sentences in some cases, rather than simply leaving out the entire conversation. In the love-rivalry between Foscari and the Duke, in Q1 Foscari comes across as the more deserving suitor to Cleona. As well as having the prior claim, Foscari emphasises his own bravery, claims that his love for her is greater than the Duke's, and challenges the idea that the Duke's high birth gives him a prerogative (in 'love', or, by extension, perhaps any prerogative). In both versions Foscari concludes by explaining that his love of Cleona is the greater because he is willing to sacrifice her for her own betterment. These are persuasive claims and Foscari does indeed come across as the better suitor. However, while this affront to the sovereign was tolerable in 1631, it was a dangerous proposition in 1660. Most worrying of all, in the Restoration context, is the direct threat of violence (the sword) towards 'the King that plays the tyrant'. In Q3 this line is cut off so that Foscari does not make any suggestion that the King is a tyrant.

Fosc . Spare your frowns.
 it is not breath
 Can fright a noble truth, nor is there Magicke
 I'th person of a King
 Duke. You threaten us.
Fosc. Heaven avert so black a thought,
 Though in my honours cause I can be flame,

¹⁷¹ p. 45 (note: this page is incorrectly paginated in the 1630 edition as p. 54).

My blood is frost to treason I admit
 You value her above your Dukedome, heath;
 That you would sacrifice your blood to avert
 Any mishap should threaten that deare head. (p. 45)

To align the King with tyranny in 1660 was to fly in the face of the careful revision of cultural history that took place in the early years of the Restoration. Indeed, as Ingo Berensmeyer points out, the very word 'Interregnum' is symptomatic of the 'oblivion culture' of the 1660s, which sought to elide years of Republican rule and the tensions that led up to it. The 'art of oblivion' (a phrase coined by Abraham Cowley in 1656) is evident in the careful restructuring of the relationships between monarch and subject in the Restoration versions of Shirley's plays, both in print and on stage.

In the revised version of Foscari's speech beginning 'spare your frowns', quoted above, the Duke takes the mere suggestion that 'there is no magic in the person of a King' as a threat, one which Foscari quickly regrets and retracts, assuring the Duke that 'my blood is frost to treason'. In the Caroline script, Foscari defends his affront to the Duke on the grounds of his devotion to Cleona, but the Restoration version strips him of this line and has him simply acknowledge that the Duke's is the greater claim. His statements later in the same speech, 'I love her above herself, and while you can / But give your life, and all you have, to doe / Cleona service, I can give away herself', which is retained in Q3, making for a more straightforward admission that Cleona will benefit from life with the Duke because he has more to offer her. The love triangle between the Duke, Foscari and Cleona is a necessary component of the plot, but the editor goes to some trouble to avoid statements that would pour salt into the still fresh wounds of the English nobility.

Updating 'the inventorie of a great Noblemans house'

A speech given by Grimundo in Act Three is purged of a lengthy meditation on appearance and reality, that calls into question the validity of assumptions on which the power of the ruling classes was based.

Grim. Indeed in a politique Common-wealth, [if you observe well, there is nothing but the appearance, and likenesse of things that carrieth opinion, your great men will appeare odde, and phantasticall, and fooles are often taken for wise Officers, your most active gallants, seeme to carry their owne haire, and your handsomest Ladies their owne faces: you cannot know a Secretary from a Scholler in blacke, nor a Gentleman Usher in Scarlet, from a Captaine. Your Judge that is all compos'd of Mercy, hath still the face of a Phylosopher, and to some is more terrible and crabbed than the Law it selfe.] All things are but representation, and my Lord, howsoever I have appear'd to you, I am at heart one of your owne Sect, an Epicure. (pp. 44-5)

To suggest that 'great men' might 'appear odd', that 'wise officers' could easily be mistaken for 'fools', or that the black robes of the Scholar, and the scarlet coat of the Captain are all that separate them from their social inferiors, or, indeed, that the legal system is as 'terrible and crabbed' as the elderly judges who uphold it, was intolerable in a society searching to re-establish traditional power structures and hierarchies.

The most substantial deletions from the text are those that define and categorize groups of people. The longest single cut is Jacomo's inventory of people in a nobleman's household cut from the beginning of the third act:

Jac. [observe the inventorie of a great Noblemans house, marke the number of the learned, Ile begin with them. *Imprimis.* Chaplaines and Schoole masters one, two Pages, 3. Gentlemen, 4. Footmen, 6. Horses, 8. Serving creatures, and 10. couple of dogs. a very Noble family.] (p. 34)

These stock character types were very familiar in 1630s comedy, but by the Restoration, they were not only outdated as dramatic figures, but unfamiliar as members of society. During the war, the English had witnessed the erosion of traditional social categories, when members of different social classes fought alongside one another, and land-owning families on the losing side were stripped of their properties.¹⁷² Sir John Coke, for example, whose younger son, Thomas, was a contemporary – and, probably, friend – of Shirley’s at Gray’s Inn, suffered the destruction of his estate during the Civil War, and his family was split apart because Thomas, like Shirley, was a Royalist, while his elder son John, MP for Derbyshire, supported Parliament. Coke was forced to leave his home at Melbourne Hall and ‘take refuge in his wife’s home in Tottenham’, where he died in 1644.¹⁷³ Thomas was obliged to pay £2, 200 to the Committee for Compounding in 1655 to regain possession of the Derbyshire estates.¹⁷⁴ Their case was not unusual. From across the social spectrum, 11, 000 homes were destroyed during the conflict, rendering 55, 000 people homeless. Entire towns and villages were destroyed, harvests were affected, and war-related disease killed 100, 000 people.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² Jackson, ‘John Webster, James Shirley, and the Melbourne Manuscript’, p. 26.

¹⁷³ Michael B. Young, ‘Coke, Sir John (1563–1644)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2016 [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5828, accessed October 2016];

¹⁷⁴ www.melbournehall.com/after-the-civil-war (accessed October 2016).

¹⁷⁵ Erin Peters, ‘Trauma Narratives of the English Civil War’, *Journal for Early-Modern Cultural Studies* 16 (2016), 78-94, p. 80.

Editing this section, Shirley (if it was Shirley) might have found it distasteful to remind the Restoration audience of this unpleasant situation, especially while Charles II was under heavy criticism for failing to restore lost lands to Royalists upon his accession to power. The Declaration of Breda, with its assurance that ‘we do grant a free and general pardon ... to all our subjects, of what degree or quality soever ... that no crime whatsoever committed against us or our royal father ... shall ever rise in judgement or be brought in question against any of them’, came as a disappointment to many. Especially those who hoped, as Shirley did, that once Charles II was

Crown'd
Great Brittain's King, and all restore
 That Church, Peers, Gentry lost before.¹⁷⁶

Perhaps this motivated the editor to quietly remove lines such as: ‘I beseech you doe not thinke, I ha so little manners to undervalue you’ (p. 46), and to edit a speech of Foscari’s:

Fosc. Punish that crime for me, [and yet me thinks
 In such a cause my owne enraged Spirit,
 In pittie of my ashes so prophan’d,
 Should nimble lift my sweating marble vp,
 And leap into my dust, which new inlifen’d
 Should walk to him that questioned my honor
 And be its owne revenger,] he is come. (p. 41)

Foscari’s words, that his ‘enraged spirit’, should ‘be its own revenger’ might have been taken as a bugle call for personal vengeance, something Charles II needed his subjects to refrain from, if the peace settlement was to work. In the

¹⁷⁶ James Shirley, ‘Read Royal Father, Mighty King’ in *Stella Meridiana*, p. 9.

Declaration of Breda, Charles demanded that 'All notes of discord, separation and difference of parties [be] utterly abolished'.¹⁷⁷ The editorial interventions made in preparing Q3 of *The Grateful Servant* for the press in 1660 can be read as an exercise in political spin, avoiding any statement that might stir up vengeful sentiments among its readers and audiences.

Another inventory of social groups appeared in Q1 Grimundo's list of the types of woman he does not sleep with, and what kinds of men they cuckold, and was heavily edited in Q3. The classifications Grimundo offers were not relevant to the society that existed in 1660, after the violence had redrawn the boundaries of traditional hierarchy.

Grim: Not Sale-ware, Mercenary stuffe, [that yee may have i'th Suburbs, and now maintaine traffique with Ambassadors Servants, nor with Laundresses, like your Students in Law, who teach her to argue the case so long, till she find a Statute for it, nor with Mistris Silkworme in the Citty, that longs for creame and cakes, and loves to Cuckold her Husband in fresh ayre, nor with your waiting Gentlewoman, that is in love with poetry, and will not part with her honour, under a Copie of fine verses, or an Analgram, nor with your course Lady her selfe, that keepes a Stallion and cozens the old Knight, and his two paire of Spectacles, in the shape of a Servingman], but [with your] rich, faire, high fed, glorious and [springing Catamountaines,] Ladies of bloud, whose eyes will make a Souldier melt, and he were compos'd of marble, whose every smile, hath a magneticke force to draw up Soules, whose voyce will charme a Satyre, and turne a mans prayers into ambition, [make a Hermit runne to Hell for a touch on her, and there hug his owne damnation.] (pp. 47-8)

¹⁷⁷ J. P. Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution 1603-1688: Documents and Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), pp. 331-2.

It is significant that the only profession mentioned in this speech once edited is the soldier, who was certainly still a familiar figure. The other groups - ambassadors' servants, laundresses, students of law and city wives cuckolding their husbands - are the stock characters of Jonsonian city comedy. That the editor saw fit to reduce this long description to a simple binary between the working classes 'mercenary stuffe' and 'rich, faire, high-fed, glorious Ladies of bloud', i.e. the aristocracy, is telling, with regard to his sexual and gender politics and response to controversies over the censorship and licensing of plays.

No Sex Please, We're British

The above-quoted speech of Grimundo's is one of several lines with 'sexually explicit content' that are deleted. In one case, the word 'naked' is cut - even though it is uttered with reference to weapons, not bodies - which hints at severe prudery in the editing or deliberate lip-service to the censor (or, even, a mischievous mocking of the censor) (p. 75). An actor given the Q3 script is relieved of the temptation to make a bawdy joke with a suggestive gesture or vocal intonation. In another context one might assume a single missing word to be a compositor's error, but coming as it does after the expunging of other sexual references, it seems likely that the omission was deliberate.

A line cut from Q3 offers a clear instruction to the actors to kiss:

Bel. My Lord y'are welcome, [nay our lip is not too pretious, for your salute,] most welcome. (p. 59)

Belinda's response: 'nay', indicates that she attempts to kiss Lodowick, and he retreats, so that the rest of her line is her insistence that he need not avoid her advance. There is nothing in the stage directions or the following dialogue to

confirm whether the kiss actually does take place, but it is suggestive enough to lead the editor to omit that part of the line. The line is rewritten in Q3 as 'My Lord y'are welcom; most welcom' (sig. G3). Earlier in the play, a line of Dulcino's is also stripped of its direct reference to temptations of the flesh in Q3. The earlier versions read:

Dulcino: To leave you, [by my life and your owne honour,
No man hath tempted me, nor have I chang'd
A syllable with any.
Fosc: Any man?]
Still I suspect (sig. C2v)

A relatively small cut in Q3 removes the potential double meaning in these lines. The explicit meaning of the line is that Dulcino has not been tempted to work for another man; however, since Dulcino is a girl in disguise, the line 'no man hath tempted me' has an obvious second meaning. This sexual joke is clearer to a reader than to an audience member, as Dulcino's true identity as Leonora has not yet been revealed in the dialogue, but it is made explicit to the reader in the *dramatis personae*.

Why did the editor feel the need to remove the sections of the text I have detailed? Was censorship to blame? The role and nature of the censor was less clear in the Restoration than it had been when Henry Herbert first became Master of Revels to Charles I before the war. Herbert had made himself a comfortable living by charging a fee of £2 per play to review the scripts, regardless of whether the play was granted approval for performance. Herbert attempted to regain this lucrative position at the Restoration. He was sworn in as Master of the Revels on 20 June 1660, but soon his powers as licenser and arbiter of stage plays were challenged.

Sir Roger L'Estrange was made licenser of printed material in 1660. He seems to have 'successfully asserted his authority' over Herbert's attempts to license plays for print. Worse still for Herbert, the grant issued to Killigrew and Davenant on 21 August 1660 giving them 'full power & authority to Erect two Companies, of Players' effectively rode rough-shod over Herbert's powers as Master of the Revels.¹⁷⁸ By December of the same year, the power negotiation between the two companies was largely complete and the smaller companies disappeared or were absorbed into the King's and Duke's companies.¹⁷⁹ Herbert sued both Davenant and Killigrew on 3 February 1661/2, but lost his case. He then sued Davenant alone on 23 October 1661. This time he was successful, and was awarded damages of £25 (the exact sum he had had to pay out for costs after losing the previous case).¹⁸⁰ When Herbert tried to enforce his newly restored power, matters turned violent. A group of players under Thomas Betterton set upon the messenger, Edward Thomas, whom Herbert sent with a writ attempting to suppress their activities. Betterton's players kept Thomas hostage for two hours. The ultimate compromise, reached by the Spring of 1662, allowed Herbert no further licensing control over the actors, but Killigrew did agree to pay legal costs. Killigrew succeeded Herbert as Master of the Revels and held the office until his death in 1673, thus effectively merging theatre management and licensing into one role.

The guidance issued to Killigrew and Davenant in their grant is clear: plays, the King had been informed, 'doe Containe much Matter of Prophanation and Scurrility', but can be reformed:

such kind of Entertainments, which if well Managed might serve as
Morall Instructions In Humane Life, As the same are now used doe for

¹⁷⁸ The document is reproduced in full in Bawcutt, *Control and Censorship*, pp. 226-28.

¹⁷⁹ Bawcutt, *Control and Censorship*, p. 91.

¹⁸⁰ Bawcutt, *Control and Censorship*, p. 93.

the most part tende to Debauchinge of the Manners of Such as are present at them, and are very Scandalous & offensive, to pious and well disposed persons.¹⁸¹

It is not the case that all of the sexual references and situations are omitted from Q3 of *The Grateful Servant*, in spite of the injunction in the grant that 'if the Evill & Scandall In the Playes that now are or have bin acted, were taken away, the same might serve as Innocent and Harmlesse divertisements'.¹⁸² Lodowick still meets Belinda, expecting to 'enjoy her in dalliance' and tells her 'I need no more provocatives, / My veins are rich, and swell with expectation' (pp. 48-9). However, this scene is part of a clear set-piece providing moral instruction as much to the audience as to Lodowick. The Duke's brother, the 'wild prince' Lodowick, is diverted from his path of nefarious activity by a well-intentioned piece of deception. An old family friend, and fatherly figure, Grimundo, pretends to be, secretly, 'an epicure', 'the greatest whoremaster in the kingdom' (3.3, p. 45). As part of this ruse, Grimundo offers to arrange a rendezvous for Lodowick with 'a handsome piece of flesh, a lady that will bound ye, and rebound, a lady that will ravish you' (3.3, p. 49). In the event, the woman he meets is Grimundo's wife, Belinda, who pretends to be a succubus, wanting 'to beget a race of smooth and wanton devils' with him (p. 77).¹⁸³ She

¹⁸¹ Bawcutt, *Control and Censorship*, p. 227.

¹⁸² Bawcutt, *Control and Censorship*, p. 227.

¹⁸³ In a bizarre (and misguided) analysis, which failed to take full account of the context, Edmund Gosse described Belinda as 'a lady of frolic temper, in whose mouth the poet has placed some of his most elaborate and ornate language. "She is poetical," we are told, "more than half a fury." In her extravagances the poet abandons his usual reserve, with something of conscious humour, and his blank verse spreads its wings to the widest. Belinda cries

I was not born to perch upon a dukedom,
Or some such spot of earth, which the dull eyes
Examine by a magnifying glass,
And wonder at; the Roman eagles never

successfully frightens Lodowick back into the arms of his long-suffering wife, Astella.

Flecknoe engineers a similar scenario, though with less subtlety and complexity, in *Love's Kingdom*, a play he offered to the reading public with the subtitle 'not as it was Acted at the Theatre near Lincoln's Inn, but as it was written, and since corrected'.¹⁸⁴ Flecknoe explains to his dedicatee, William, Duke of Newcastle (Shirley's patron), that the play had been misinterpreted by actors and audiences and as such, unjustly 'condemn'd', and his purpose in printing it was to 'shew its Innocence' (sig. A2). The character Pamphilus is variously described by other characters as a 'wild fellow', who 'knows no more of love than beasts do' and puts 'vice & impudence to the extreamest proof and shames not to be impudent enough' (p. 4). He has no part in the plot other than to chase the virgin nymphs, frightening them a little, but more of a pest than a sinister threat: 'I'm more and more afeard of him, I wo'd some body would come to rid me of him, and see in happy time here's some, and yonder's more: not I may be as merry with him, as he ha's been with me', says the nymph Amaranthe, when Pamphilus offers her 'the opportunity' to lose her

Did spread their wings upon so many shores;
 The silver moon of Ottoman looks pale
 Upon my greater empire; kings of Spain,
 That now may boast their ground doth stretch as wide
 As day, are but poor landlords of a cell
 Compar'd to mine inheritance; the truth is
 I am the Devil.

This is as near as Shirley ever gets to the audacious rapture of Webster and Marlowe, and it is to be noted that his reasonable nature can only concede so much as this with a purpose that is slightly comic. Some choice poetry is placed in the old Friar's mouth, and *The Grateful Servant*, though not a very interesting play, shows a definite advance upon its predecessors.' *James Shirley*, 'Introduction', (p. xvii). Gosse fails to acknowledge that Belinda is only posing as a succubus, of 'frolick temper', to reform the wayward Lodowick.

¹⁸⁴ Richard Flecknoe, *Love's Kingdom* (London: Printed by R. Wood for the Author, 1664), sig. A.

maidenhead. Similarly, Fidelia is not so fearful that she cannot teach him manners, when he 'layes hold on her' (as the stage direction explains it): 'Was ever such a rudeness? Unhand me sir, and know that Virgins are like sacred Reliques / beheld with reverence' (p. 53).

For Flecknoe, there is a much cleaner line between good and evil than there is in Shirley's Caroline comedies. In *Love's Kingdom* Amaranthe and Fidelia, like Pamphilus's new acquaintance and travelling companion, Evander, quickly resolve to keep their distance from Pamphilus:

Amaranthe: I'll not half an hour with thee (p. 13)

Fidelia: Hence and avoid my sight, for now I see,
How all that we call vicious is in thee;
Foul corruptor of honour, as cankers of fairest flowers,
Shame of thy sex, dishonourer of ours! (p. 53)

Evander: I'm sorry and asham'd
(now I know him better)
that I came along with him to Cyprus here. (p. 4)

These sound judgements from the worthy characters ensure that Pamphilus's vice never leaves a stain on the people he interacts with. Grimundo and Belinda make a different choice, to reform Lodowick, rather than spurning him. Grimundo functions as a 'spiritual guide' for Lodowick. This is in keeping with Francois de Sales's advice:

it is needefull above all thinges to have this faithfull frind, who may
guide our actions by his prudentiall counsell, and countergard us,
against the ambushments and slighes of our ghostly enemie. Such an

one ... will keepe us from evill, and make what is good in us, a great deale better: and ... he will lift us up againe from our downefall.¹⁸⁵

Flecknoe's Pamphilus alludes sarcastically to Neoplatonism in the opening scene of *Love's Kingdom*. The line is enough to satisfy the audience that the character is an 'epicure', whose example they ought not to follow:

Ev. Then I perceive you are an Epicure in love,
And onely wo'd feed your body.
Pam. I am no Platonick Philosopher,
Who while they feed their mindes,
Do starve themselves; give me a Love that ha's
Some substance in it. (p. 2)

As Evander exemplifies, the judicious courtier chooses his friends wisely.

It is only in the context of reformation of a sinner that the sexual jokes and references survive in the 1660 edition of *The Grateful Servant*. A sexual joke in this piece of word play from Act One also appears in all three editions:

Mar. Thou sayst he's not within?
Isa. No Sir, but 'tis very like he will be to morrow night sir.
Mar. How is this?
Isa. Would you have him within before he is married?

¹⁸⁵ Francois de Sales, 'The necessitie of a guide to enter and go forward in exercises of devotion', in *An Introduction to a Devoute Life, composed in Frenche by the R. Father in God Francis Sales, Bishop of Geneva, and translated into English, by I. Y.* (London: G. Patté for John Heigham, 1613), pp. 44-49, quotation on pp. 46-7.

This very mild reference to sex, with the pun on ‘within’, exists only in the context of strict moralizing: Isabella clearly states the orthodox viewpoint that he must not be ‘within’ either his fiancée’s bedchamber, or her body, before the wedding ceremony has taken place. Jokes that cannot be sanitised by their context in this way are removed from Q3. They exemplify Flecknoe’s claim that

Its chieftest end is, to render Folly ridiculous, Vice odious, and Vertue and Noblenesse so amiable and lovely, as, every one shu’d be delighted and enamoured with it; from which when it deflects; as, *corruptio optimi pessima*: of the best it becomes the worst of Recreations. And this his Majesty well understood, when after his happy Restauration, he took such care to purge it from all vice and obscenity;¹⁸⁶

Any crude remarks in Q1 of *The Grateful Servant* that survived the Interregnum and appear in Q3 are those that lead towards ultimately vindicating the virtuous and reforming the corrupt.

‘Edifying his Neighbor’s woman’

The majority of the sexual references absent from Q3 of *The Grateful Servant* are those that make light of marital infidelity. In the exchange between Lodowick and his wife, in which he accuses her of infidelity, the following lines are omitted:

Ast. There’s an other duty, my Lord, required fro[m] husband
Lodw. My Madam would to rutte, hath your honour, no pretty dapper
 Monkey, each morning to give you a heat in a dance, is not your doctor
 gamesome[?] (p. 29)

¹⁸⁶ Flecknoe, *Short Discourse*, sig. G7v.

Since 'dapper' could mean small and effeminate, as well as smartly dressed, by 'dapper monkey', Lodowick implies that his wife has, or ought to have, some man, less masculine than himself, to satisfy her sexual needs. He has, as we learn in Act Two (in both versions) been refusing to do so himself for some time. Threatening to divorce her 'because she is not fruitful', Cleona asks whether he would 'have her fruitful, and you not lie with her'. Lodowick does not deny that he has not been sleeping with his wife, but instead asks, 'Have I not known a lady whose husband is an Eunuch upon record mother to three or four children?' (sig D3).¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁷ Ben Jonson's Pug makes a similar joke in *The Devil is an Ass* 2.2:

Deare delicate Mist. I am your slave,
Your little *worme*, that loves you: your fine *Monkey*;
Your *Dogge*, your *lacke*, your *Pug*, that longs to be
Stil'd, o'your pleasures. (London: 1641), p. 21.

In Nathanael Richards's poem, *The Celestiall Publican*, monkeys are explicitly linked with unfaithful women in his section on 'The Flesh':

Like those Nice Dames that will in outward show
Not wrong their husbands, no forsooth, O no,
Not for a World; stand on their honestie,
Quote Scripture, symper, looke most modestly,
Sweare and forswear, should the first husband die,
Ne're to wed more; Yet marrie presently,
And then protest the single life temptation,
Phy out upon 't, foe to Procreation,
Thus seeme in publique pure; but in private
More secretly open, more insatiate
Then the hot Monkie 'th veneriall Marke
Skip, friske, and fling, doe wonders in the darke.

The Celestiall Publican, A sacred poem: Lively describing the birth, progresse, bloody passion, and glorious resurrection of our Saviour (London: Roger Michell, 1630); There are also pamphlets from 1642 linking Moll Cutpurse with monkeys, such as *An exact description of Prince Ruperts Malignant She-Monkey, a great Deliquent* (London, Feb 25, 1642), sig. A2v. See also Raphael Seligmann, 'With a Sword by Her Side and a Lute in Her Lap: Moll Cutpurse at the Fortune', in

The suggestion that Astella's doctor may be 'gamesome' (that is, willing to have sex with his patient) is also a familiar early-modern sexual joke. In 3.1, all of these further lines about fidelity are removed:

Fosc. Why can there be
 Suspition she will varie, do not checke
 The confidence thou hadst, unsettle not
 The faith I have in thee, shee can prove
 false.
Dulc. Mistake me not, I doe not doubt her truth,
 But shee's a woman, and if you delay
 To interpose yourself, his Greatness may
 In time, without injustice to your Love,
 Winne upon her affection, you shall doe
 A great impietie to neglect her now.
 With so much prooffe, and loyaltie of honour. (pp. 31-2)

Without this line, the exchange still refers to disloyalty, but more obliquely. An allusion to Cuckold's horns also disappears, as does another reference to female sexual appetite:

Grim ... that will proclaime, how this Madam kisses, how like Ivie the
 tother *bona Roba* embraced em, and with what activity, a third playes
 her amorous prize. (p. 47)

The association between ivy and sexuality dates back to ancient Greece and recalls the festival of Dionysus.

Grimundo's lengthy description of the women he has consorted with is removed, along with the question from Lodowick that provokes it: 'what commodities?' (pp. 47-8). The exchange between the two of them that follows is another good example of the careful nature of the editing, in that the most obvious sexual references are removed (the are shown in square brackets below), with enough text spared to ensure that the scene still makes sense.

Grim. Doe not deceive yourself; come, you shall beleeve, and thanke mee; [will that serve turne? shall I bee thought worthy to bee trusted then, if I doe the office of a Bawd for you, and play the Pander with dexteritie; will that convince you?

Lodw. Yes, yes, then I will beleeeue thee.]

Grim. The goe with me, and I will demonstrate.

Lodw. Whither?

Grim. I will carry you to a Lady bee not afraid, [shee is honest, a handsome peece of flesh, a Lady that will bound yee, and rebound, a Lady that will rauish you.

Lodw. Me?

Grim. What delight and admiration; one in whom doth flourish all the excellencie of women, honesty only excepted,] such a charming brow, speaking eye, springing cheek, tempting lip, swelling bosome.

Lodw. Will you lead me to such a creature?

Grim. Yes.

Lodw. And shall I [enjoy her in dalliance]?

Grim. And think yourself the richer, than to be Lord of both the Indies...
(pp. 48-9)

Lodowick's final question in the quotation above, becomes the somewhat unspecific, 'And shall I?' in Q3, rather than the more sexually overt 'shall |I

enjoy her in dalliance', but the sense is still clear from the context. In the Q3 version, it seems that Grimundo interrupts Lodowick before he is able to finish his question. The range of gestures available to an actor delivering Lodowick's question is virtually limitless, and laden with comic potential. The potential for lewdness here may even be greater than in the more specific Q1 version. Lodowick attempts to manufacture grounds for divorce by persuading Piero to seduce Astella, Piero expresses some natural reservations. Once again, some explicit and bawdy details are omitted from his lines so that the resultant conversation is succinct.

Piero. You cannot chose but kill me for't when I have done, [name any other lady, or halfe a score on 'em, as farre as flesh will goe, I ha but a body, and that shall venture upon a disease to doe you service, but] your lady.

[*Lodw.* Have I not told thee my end?

Piero. I Sir, but I am very loath to begin with her, I know she will not let me doe the feate, I had as good never attempt it.]

Lodw. Is your mountanous promise come to this?

Piero My Lord, do but consider --- well, I will do what I can and there be no remedie --- but –

[*Lodw.* No butting.

Pierro. Nay for butting, your Lordship is like to doe that better, when I haue done with your Lady, upon one condition, ile resolve.

Lodw. What's that?

Piero. I must be a little plaine w'ee my Lord, that you wonot ask me blessing, I am like to bee one of your Godfathers.

Lodw. How?

Piero. The new name that I shall adde to your other titles will sticke in your head and I feare corrupt your braines too many wise men have runne mad upon't in the Citty.]

Lodw. Never feare it, for if thou canst but corrupt her, Ile shew a divorce presently.

Piero. And bring me in for a witness. (pp. 49-50)

The grammar is altered, so that Piero's words 'Your Ladie' become a question in their own right (or, rather an expression of incredulity). We see, then, in the third Quarto of *The Grateful Servant*, careful and strategic editing, not rash censorship, nor a careless effort to reduce the play's running time, or the cost of printing. The editorial choices, particularly the removal of bawdy comments, are ones we might perhaps expect of the players during the Interregnum, who did not give up hopes of a reopening of the theatres, even if on a temporary basis, to save them from poverty. In 1650, a group of actors from the Blackfriars and Cockpit theatres petitioned Parliament, promising submission to censorship:

May it therefore please this Honourable House to commiserate their sad and distressed condition, and to vouchsafe them a Libertie to Act but some small time (for their triall of inoffensiveness) onely such morall and harmless representations, as shall no way be distastfull to the Commonwealth or good manners. They humbly submitting themselves to any one of knowing judgement and fidelitie to the State, appointed to oversee them and their actions, and willing to contribute out of their poor endeavours, what shall be thought fit and allotted them to pay weekly or otherwise, for the service of Ireland, or as the State shall think fitting.¹⁸⁸

These kinds of promises of financial and artistic submission are consistent with kinds of amendments described so far in *The Grateful Servant*. We cannot discount the possibility that there was a significant time lapse between the

¹⁸⁸ Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, pp. 43-44, note 171.

editorial work and the publication in 1660. Thus, they might represent sensibilities of any part of the Interregnum, particularly in the aftermath of the physical wrecking of the Phoenix and the Fortune theatres by soldiers acting on stringent Parliamentary orders to suppress the them in 1649.

The first hint is that so many references to disloyalty and infidelity present in Q1 are absent from Q3, which ought to lead us to ask why. Hanson Parlin points out that, unlike Chapman, Shirley never presents infidelity without moralizing it: 'Shirley never uses adultery as a purely comic theme, and to woman he has not only given a noble purity, but to her virtue and chastity he has given again and again the power of redeeming a man from the sins of illicit passion.'¹⁸⁹ For even further work to have been done to the scripts to remove references to disloyalty and infidelity suggest that these topics had become even more sensitive than they were in the Caroline court, so engaged as it was with the ideas of French Neoplatonism, a philosophy that occupied much conversation at the court of Henrietta Maria in the early 1630s, as Erica Veevers explains.¹⁹⁰

Prince Charles was already known for his liaisons with women while he was in exile, and had fathered at least one illegitimate child, with Lucy Walter. The boy would eventually become Duke of Monmouth and the centre of a succession crisis. Charles's liaisons with women from the small community of English exiles [became] an embarrassment'.¹⁹¹ When this sanitized edition of

¹⁸⁹ Hanson T. Parlin, *A Study in Shirley's Comedies of London Life* (Austin, TX: The University of Texas, 1914), p. 28.

¹⁹⁰ Erica Veevers, *Images of Love and Religion: Queen Henrietta Maria and Court Entertainment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

¹⁹¹ Paul Seaward writes 'a son, James, had been born in 1649 as a result of his affair with a woman of obscure origins, Lucy Walter. The affair ended during his time in Paris, and was succeeded by others: with Elizabeth Boyle, to whom a daughter was born in 1651; with Eleanor Byron, Lady Byron; and with Charlotte Pegge, who bore a son in 1657 and a daughter in 1658'.

The Grateful Servant was published, Charles was still unmarried, but his infamous relationship with Barbara Villiers, Countess of Castlemaine, began before the Restoration, while he was in exile at The Hague. Villiers married Roger Palmer in April 1659, and never divorced him. Thus, if an analogy was spotted by a reader in 1662, Charles II would be the 'pretty dapper monkey' or gamesome doctor giving Villiers 'a heat in a dance'. For nine months before and for a year after the Restoration, many brief lives of the Stuart kings and eulogies of Charles I were published. It is during this period (though exactly when remains unclear) that the shortened version of *The Grateful Servant* went to press. It is therefore extremely likely that the readers would have been sensitive to resonances between Charles's life and the details of the play, and thus that potentially contentious passages would have been removed. Or, if the alterations were made during the late 1650s, it would have been in keeping with the *mores* of the time that such lewdness would be omitted.

Another erotic image that may have carried political overtones was removed: the following speech is absent from the 1660 edition, yet the rest of that scene is identical.

Bel. When next wee meete, like to the Gemini
 Weele twine our limbes in one another, till
 Wee appeare one creature in our active play,

The astrological symbolism in the explicitly sexual reference to entwined limbs, is peculiarly appropriate, both because Gemini is illustrated as twins, i.e. two bodies, and in astrology Gemini rules the arms. An apolitical enough reference in 1630, this line became politically charged in the Restoration context because Charles II was a Gemini, and his nativity is often recalled in Restoration

'Charles II (1630–1685)', in *ODNB*, (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, May 2011
 [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5144, accessed 29 March 2013]

panegyric and loyalist verse calling for his return. This significance of the star sign would not have been an issue in the 1630s but might well have been obvious to any reader after 1660, and to a Royalist beforehand. If *The Grateful Servant* had been published after the Restoration the line would have been more noteworthy since Charles's return occurred on his birthday, 30 May, but in that case the line could have been taken as a celebration of his return and birth sign, and therefore retained. Omission of the line might have been motivated by the fact that Charles's celebrated birth sign was linked with licentiousness. The characteristics of a Gemini were described in the posthumously-published astrological work of physician Nicholas Culpepper (1616 – 1654):

Gemini gives a delicate, strait, well composed, and well-set body, good colour, bright clear eyes, good sight, and piercing; long arms, long hands and feet, large brest, brown hair, good wit, fluent tongue, and apt discourse; yet a man of no great fidelity.¹⁹²

In 1661, this sense is used in Samuel Austin's panegyric to Charles, *A Panegyrick on His Sacred Majesties royal person, Charles II*:

A King should still be seen
In a Relation to a Queen.
'Tis no offence, or trouble
For great ones to lye double
Nor for Astronomers, but for Kings to pry
Into the Wed lock sense of *Gemini*.

¹⁹² Nicholas Culpepper, *Opus Astrologicum* (London: Richard Moon and Stephen Chatfield, 1654), sig. Bv.

The removal of the reference is in keeping with the cutting of other lines associating the ruler with sex and infidelity. Not all of the references to Gemini in this period are sexualized. For example, Henry Glapthorne's 'White Hall', a poem that celebrates the monarchy and concludes with a call from White Hall for Charles's return, 'who must mourn / In widdow'd sadnesse, till best Charles return', Peace and Justice are figured intertwining like Gemini under Elizabeth I:

Not then in mutinous troops have past by me,
 As if they meant to fright bright Majesty
 Out of my bosome; then there was no strife
 Ith' Common wealth about religion rife.
 But all was peace and justice, which then grew
 Together like the Gemini. I knew
 No gawdy fashions then from giddy France
 Brought hither since to be the Courts mischance,
 Sick of that sorraigne pride, whose various dresse
 Has ushered in effeminate wantonnesse. (sig. Bv).

It is conceivable that if the play was published before the Restoration, the exclusion of the reference to Gemini was designed to remove any association with this text and other loyalist verse, such as Glapthorne's. However, in light of the other cuts, it seems more likely that the editor chose to remove the lines for fear of their being read as a comment on scandal associated with the newly-restored King, his mistresses and illegitimate children. By 1662, the latest possible date for the corrections, the influence of the Countess of Castlemaine over Charles was well known, and a quotation from the King circulated in which he claims she knew more sexual postures than Aretino. Pepys recorded in 1663:

the King do mind nothing but pleasures, and hates the very sight or thoughts of business; that my Lady Castlemaine rules him, who, he says, hath all the tricks of Aretin that are to be practised to give pleasure. ... If any of the sober counselors give him good advice, and move him in anything that is to his good and honour, the other part, which are his counselors of pleasure, take him when he is with my Lady Castlemaine, and in a humour of delight, and then persuade him that he ought not to hear nor listen to the advice of those old dotards or counselors that were heretofore his enemies: when, God knows! it is they that now-a-days do most study his honour.¹⁹³

When other dramatists referred to Gemini in this period, it was, if not always an explicitly sexual reference, certainly an evocation of a close, lovers' embrace. One such was Thomas Goffe (1591-1629). In his *Tragedy of Orestes*, as Orestes and Pylades die in one another's arms, Orestes exclaims:

O grasp me then, our names like *Gemini*,
shall make new stars for to adorn the sky.¹⁹⁴

There is another lewd association with Gemini in the opening scene of *The Marriage Broker, or The Pander*, a comedy by the anonymous 'M. W.', published in 1662: 'but what is now / In *Virgo*, or the sign of maiden-head, / May before long be seen in *Gemini*.'¹⁹⁵

Grimundi's vulgar language is also excised from Q3:

¹⁹³ Pepys, *Diary*, 15 May 1663.

¹⁹⁴ Thomas Goffe, *Three Excellent Tragedies* (London: Printed for G. Bedell and T. Collins, 1656), p. 261.

¹⁹⁵ *A Comedy called The Marriage Broaker, or, The Pander written by M. W., M. A.* (London: 1662).

Grim. Faith? why judge by your selfe, how dee thinke a man should
 subsist, [wenching? why tis the top-branch, the heart, the very Soule of
 pleasure,] ile not give a chip to bee an Emperour, and I may not curvet
 as often as my constitution requires, [Lecherie is the Monarch of Delight,
 whose Throne is in the blood, to which all other sinnes doe homage, and
 bow like servicable Vassailes, petty Subjects in the Dominion of flesh –]
 Wenches why ... (p. 46)

This instance is evidence of the very careful removal of certain passages; alternate sentences have been removed, in this case things linking monarchy with lechery. The language in the deleted lines is disturbingly reminiscent of a letter written in 1658 by the Duke of Ormonde to the king, speaking of Sir Edward Hyde: 'I fear his immoderate delight in empty, effeminate and vulgar conversations, is become an irresistible part of his nature'. It is easily plausible that the editor removed lines that made light of infidelity as a way of avoiding any passage being taken as a jibe at the King.

An obvious allusion to homoeroticism is also removed, while the Duke is under the impression that Leonora, princess of Milan, is a boy, named Dulcino, he expresses confusion about his feelings towards Dulcino to his entourage of Lords:

Duke. My soule I have examin'd, and yet find
 No reason for my foolish passion
 One hot *Italian* doth affect these boyes,
 For sinne, I'ue no such flame, and yet me thought
 He did appeare more lovely, nay in's absence
 I cherish his Idea, but I must
 Exclude him, while he hath but soft impression,

Being remou'd already in his person,
I loose him with lesse troubles (pp. 51-2)

This speech was not necessarily removed simply because it expresses homoerotic sentiment that was too taboo for the puritanical cleansing of the theatres promised by the Restoration theatre settlements. The play was, as I have mentioned, influenced by the cult of Neoplatonism that came to dominate the intellectual culture of Henrietta Maria's court at the beginning of the 1630s, and the rumours circulating about the relationship between James I and the Duke of Buckingham, which was no longer topical, nor sensible to bring up in 1660.

'Oppress the subject, flatter the prince'

The untrustworthiness of ambitious courtiers is explored further in *The Grateful Servant*, in a way that adds further allusions to Buckingham. A servant, Jacomo, is especially candid about his pursuit of his ambition:

I will oppress the subject, flatter the prince, take bribes on both sides, do right to neither, serve heaven as far as my profit will give me leave, and tremble only at the summons of a parliament.

The irony of this line, uttered on stage in 1629, is hard to ignore.¹⁹⁶ The issue of Parliament's survival had been hotly debated in 1627, and Charles had dissolved the third parliament in 1628, largely in order to save his friend, the

¹⁹⁶ This is more than mere metaphor. Chris Kyle argues in his 2012 book that 'Parliament was understood by its members and by Early Moderns more generally to be an institution whose structures and practices were closely analagous to those of the theater.' Chris R. Kyle, *Theater of State: Parliament and Political Culture in Early-Modern England* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012), pp. 1-2.

Duke of Buckingham, from impeachment.¹⁹⁷ The play was performed the following year, the same year as the declaration by Charles that no parliaments would be called ‘until our people shall see more clearly our intents and actions ... [and] shall come to a better understanding of us and themselves’, and thus the beginning of his ‘personal rule’. Jacomo is the essence of the bad courtier, and might be read as a comment on Buckingham. This was certainly not Shirley’s only comment on the controversial Duke, since he noted in a short poem:

Here lies the best and worst of fate
Two Kings delight, the peoples hate
The Courtier’s star, the Kingdoms eye,
A man to draw an Angel by.
Fears despiser, *Villiers* glory
The Great mans volume, all times story.

In this poem Shirley acknowledges that Villiers, ‘all time’s story’, makes excellent dramatic fodder, and he demonstrates so in his plays. In another comment on bad advice to princes, while pretending to be ‘the devil’s grand solicitor for souls’, Grimundo advises Lodowick:

It speaks discretion and abilities in statesmen to apply themselves to their prince’s disposition, vary a thousand shapes; if he be honest, we put on a form of gravity; if he be vicious, we are parasites.

¹⁹⁷ Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1992); L. J. Reeve, *Charles I and the Road to Personal Rule* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 11-15; R. P. Cust, ‘Charles I, the Privy Council, and the Forced Loan’ *Journal of British Studies* xxiv, 2 (1985), pp. 211-233.

Through this line, Shirley characterises both the fictitious court of the play, and by extension Charles and Henrietta Maria's court, as a place where no one can be trusted entirely, in which the behavior of the prince impacts on the behaviour of each and every subject. The line is itself tinged with irony since it is delivered as part of Grimundo's extended ruse, but the fact that Lorenzo accepts it unquestioningly suggests that it is an accurate enough depiction.

'Divines Make no Scruple'

In addition to avoiding further comments that might have been taken as critical of the new regime, the statement that 'Divines make no scruple' was, in its original context, a dig at the unpopular Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud (1573–1645). In all three editions of *The Grateful Servant*, Grimundo's wife, Belinda, posing as a succubus, praises Lodowick's hypocrisy, and he declares: 'My bones within / Are dust already, and I weare my flesh / Like a loose upper garment' (p. 63). The image of flesh hanging loosely covering an inside composed of nothing but ashes evokes the image of the Apples of Sodom, (Matthew 7: 16-20), a prominent image in anti-Catholic polemic in the Early-Modern period.¹⁹⁸ Further attacks on hypocritical Protestant Elders disappear in 1660:

Grim. I confesse and were you in publique, I would vrge many other empty names to fright you, put on my Holyday countenance, and talke nothing but diuinity, and golden sentences, [looke like a supercilious Elder, with a starch'd face, and a tunable nose, whilst he is edifying his Neighbors woman.] (p. 45)

¹⁹⁸ Alison Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination 1558-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 27.

Jacomo also waxes eloquent on the subject of hypocrisy in the church, in a lengthy speech that was edited out of the 1660 edition:

Piero. I hope a man may get a place for himselfe or his friend for ready mony.

Iac. Twere pity of my life else, you shall command the first that falls, but you must sweare you came in without chafering or buying, imagine it a plump Parsonage, or other Church-living, the oath will goe downe more easily. Divines make no scruple. (p. 68)

Elsewhere Grimundo describes hypocrisy as a ‘delicate white devil’, which recalls Webster’s fervently anti-Catholic Jacobean revenge drama, *The White Devil*, which was performed in repertory with *The Grateful Servant* in the early Restoration. The debate over the authorship of the anonymous Melbourne manuscript, had only two serious contenders: Webster and Shirley.¹⁹⁹ This should tell us that Webster, whose dramatic career flourished between 1602 and 1638, was an influence on Shirley. A further intertextual link between *The Grateful Servant* and *The White Devil* is the use of the word ‘vaulted’ in relation to marital infidelity, when Jacomo says: ‘I believe he hath vaulted into your saddle’ (p. 67). This clearly evokes the murder arranged by Vittoria and Bracciano, made to look like an accidental death caused by falling from a vaulting horse.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ The manuscript is discussed in chapter two, above.

²⁰⁰ *The White Devil* was reprinted in 1664 by Will Crooke and John Playfere [*sic.*] (Arbor (ed.) *A Transcript*, vol. 2, p. 353). Thomas Middleton wrote in *The Black Book*, ‘The third Rancke (quainter then the former) presents vs with the Race of lustie Vaulting Gallants, that in stead of a French Horse practise vppon their Mistresses all the nimble Trickes of Vaulting, and are worthy to be made Dukes for doing the Somerset so liuely.’ (London, Jeffrey Cholton, 1604), sig. C3v.

The Grateful Servant was made appropriate for its moment in history through the careful removal of any lines that would remind the reader of the political and social turbulence of recent years. It also reaches for a less elaborate style of speech, more in keeping with the style of contemporary dramatic writing. It seems most likely that this would be the version of the text used in the Duke's Company's theatre in 1666, when this play was staged with Mrs Long playing Dulcino.

There is only one instance of a stage direction that has been added to Q3. In Act Five, no exit is marked in stage directions for Jacomo in the 1630 or 1637 editions (p. 69), but this is added in Q3 (sig. H3).²⁰¹ In another scene, an entrance for Gioto is not marked in the 1660 version, but in the earlier texts his entrance is noted just before he speaks. The preceding lines have been cut from the 1660 edition, and with it Gioto's entrance. The lack of attention to detail in the stage direction here probably indicates that the text was edited by someone who was not concerned with notifying actors to be ready, but with producing a readers' text.

There are no obvious signs in Q2 to suggest that it was set from a prompt copy or theatrical text: there are no new stage directions; no words have crept in which might have been added to the text for the prompter's benefit; there are no reminders of characters' entrances or notes regarding scenery and properties to be used. Scenery was customary in theatre by the time of the dates of productions of the play given by Downes (1666) and Pepys (1669), but this was not the case in plays produced before 1660. *The Wedding* was one of the plays staged at the Red Bull in 1659. This production was not

²⁰¹ Another stage direction in this scene differs, Lodowick's name is abbreviated in Q3 because it is on the same line as the dialogue, in the earlier editions the name is in full and is laid out on its own line, but this is consistent with the printer's decision to reduce the overall length of the play and is no indication of decisions taken in the theatre.

legal, and we would not expect a surreptitious production in one of the older theatres to provide lavish *mise en scene*. Use of scenery became commonplace after 1663, and developed as a means for the two companies to lure audiences away from their rivals. The Restoration editions naturally bear no evidence of this future development, but the edition of *The Grateful Servant* would have provided an excellent starting point for the adaptation of the play for a Restoration audience. We ought not to discount the possibility that it might it have been adapted by Shirley to update it in the hope of getting it back into the theatre, or, even, that it was prepared at Killigrew's request with a stage revival in mind.

The key piece of evidence suggesting that *The Grateful Servant* was not performed before Q3 was printed is the title page, which is consistent in all three editions, stating that the play was 'Presented with good applause at the private house in Drury Lane'.²⁰² Had a Restoration performance already taken place, this almost certainly would have been advertised on the title page. The play nonetheless *may* have been in production in the late 1650s or early 1660, but Q3 was clearly not based on a playhouse copy.

The Promptbook of *The Grateful Servant* in the Library of Congress

A copy of Q3 of *The Grateful Servant* held by the Library of Congress (PR1241.L6.vol.61.no.4) contains manuscript notes including cuts and apparently names of cast members, as well as one note regarding scenery. It is, however, a sorry text to examine because when text was bound, the white space around its margins was cropped to size, taking with it much of the manuscript annotation. The markings that remain visible appear to be those of

²⁰² The theatre referred to is the Cockpit, also known as the Phoenix theatre. The Cockpit opened in 1616 under Christopher Beeston, and was the home of the Queen's Men until 1637, and also home to Beeston's Boys.

a theatre manager preparing the text for a stage presentation, but the notes only continue as far as sig. B4r, suggesting that whoever made the notes gave up at that point, which may indicate that the performance never took place. No date has been established for the notes.²⁰³ The careless binder has also, frustratingly, cropped the list of names added to the left of the *dramatis personae*.²⁰⁴ The edition was acquired by the Library of Congress in 1908, already bound, as part of the Francis Longe collection of Early-Modern playtexts.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ Paul Werstine offers his thanks to Lucy Munro 'who, privately, calls attention to a copy of James Shirley's *The Grateful Servant* in the Library of Congress (PR1241.L6, vol. 61) that exhibits come cuts and changes to SPP [speech prefixes] up to sig. B4r; were the alterations carried through, this text might resemble *Fleire*.' [Edward Sharpham, *The Fleire, 1606-7*] *Early-Modern Playhouse Manuscripts and the Editing of Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 11, n. 8.

²⁰⁴ There is a similar situation in a Smock Alley prompt copy of *The Night-Walker*, discussed by Alan Stevenson in 'The Case of the Decapitated Cast or The Night-walker at Smock Alley' *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (1955), pp. 275-96.

²⁰⁵ Letter addressed to the Librarian of Congress, from Ludwig Rosenthal's Antiquariat, 27 April 1908.

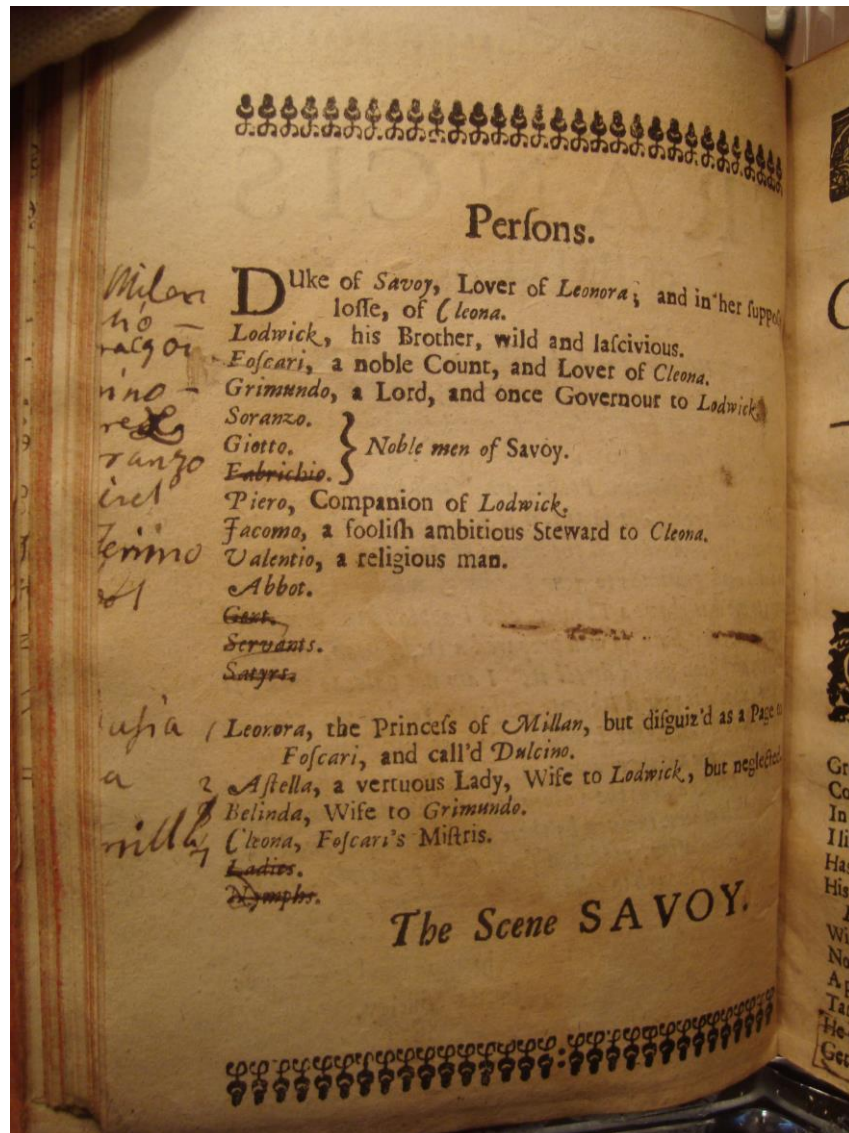


Figure 2: *The Grateful Servant*, Library of Congress (PR1241.L6, vol. 61)

Q3 evidently has been edited to make it appropriate for a Restoration audience, and as such it is possible that this printed version became Davenant's source text. The fact that *The Grateful Servant* was heavily edited, yet a reprinting of *The Wedding* by the same publisher that same year bears no evidence of amendments suggests that *The Wedding* was considered, at least by Leake, to be more suitable to the post-1660 climate. The cuts from the dialogue are so extensive, and so carefully made, that they are clearly not compositor's

errors: in all cases, the play still makes sense.²⁰⁶ A glance at Restoration promptbooks indicates that the theatre companies were not unused to editing scripts to shorten them, and this may be what happened to Shirley's plays. The fact that the play was performed so early in the Restoration period (even before the re-opening of the theatres) also suggests that *The Wedding* was the most readily identified as a play that would lend itself easily to the new environment. The nature of the amendments is quite different: *The Grateful Servant* was significantly shortened, with very little added, but the later edition of *The Constant Maid* is longer than the original, with expansions that usually make the onstage action clearer, provide elucidation of references or character motivation not given in the original, and contemporize its tone. All of this has been done carefully, and it is evident that it was done by someone very familiar with the play: Shirley himself is the most obvious suspect.

²⁰⁶ There are nonetheless a few minor differences between the editions that are likely to be errors. One such is the line 'Lady I am come' (1630, p. 59), which appears in 1660 as the nonsensical 'Lady am come' (sig. G). The last line on p. 3, 'I ha perus'd it, let me see it no more' may have been excluded from the 1660 edition accidentally, as there is no obvious reason for the deletion, its position at the end of the page making an error of omission likely. Finally, there is one line repeated in the 1660 edition: the line 'To welcom your return' occurring at the top of sig. Cv is a repetition of the final line on the previous page. It has been scored out of the Huntington copy. Sometimes evident errors in both 1630 and 1637 are corrected in the third edition, as in Lodowick's line in Act 4, 'shew a divorce (1630 and 1637, sig. H2)' which is amended to 'sue a Divorce' in 1660 (sig. F4).

Chapter 4: *The Constant Maid, or, Love Will Find Out the Way*

There are three extant editions of *The Constant Maid*: 1640, 1661 and 1667 (hereafter Q1, Q2 and Q3, respectively). The first edition, Q1, was printed in 1640 by J. Raworth for R. Whitaker.²⁰⁷ The play was entered into the Stationer's Register as *The Constant Maid* on 28 April 1640. The revised edition printed after the Restoration, Q2, gives the name of the play as *Love Will Find Out the Way*, the playwright as 'T. B.' on its title page. Despite some significant alterations, it is clearly the same play. Q3 gives both titles ('*The Constant Maid, or, Love Will Find Out the Way*') as if to rectify the confusion, and corrects the writer's initials to 'J. S.', but it is otherwise not different from Q2, and is likely to be the same imprint with a cancel title page.²⁰⁸ One further Quarto may have existed, an edition of the play published in 1657 for Joshua Kirton at his shop in St. Paul's Churchyard, at the sign of the Kings-Arms. This Quarto, entitled *Two Plays*, is supposed to have also contained *St. Patrick for Ireland*, but is untraceable.²⁰⁹ It is intriguing that there may have been a publication of Shirley's play in the late 1650s, shortly before the death of Oliver Cromwell, but as the text cannot be found, we cannot know whether it contained the amended text or the original. It ought to be borne in mind, however, that the

²⁰⁷ *Love Will Find Out the Way. An Excellent Comedy. By T. B. As it was acted with great Applause, by Her Majesties Servants at the Phoenix in Drury Lane* (London: Printed for Samuel Speed, at the Signe of the Printing-Press in St Paul's Church-yard. 1661).

²⁰⁸ It is not clear why Q2 renames the play and falsifies its authorship. It may be that the printer received a copy of the play without its title page and based the information on the epilogue, which repeatedly uses and plays with the phrase 'love will find out the way' and is signed 'T. B.'; the epilogue is given in chapter six.

²⁰⁹ *Bibliography of the English Printed Drama*, pp. 729 and 731. *ESTC*, record no. S3490, records one copy only, held at Williams College Library, MS, but this cannot be located by the library. See Esche www.inst.at/trans/16Nr/09_6/esche16.htm [accessed May 2016].

amendments in Q2 could have been made in or even before 1657.²¹⁰ The nature of the alterations may provide clues as to their date, particularly if they are compared with those of *The Grateful Servant*.

Acted with great Applause

Q3, the 1667 edition of the play, provides the strongest evidence of a Restoration staging, since it states on its title page that the play had been performed 'at the new playhouse called the Nursery, in Hatton-Garden', i.e. by the company of trainee actors managed by George Jolly.²¹¹ Q1 title page makes no mention of a theatrical production, and there is no Revels' licence for the play on record. Nason suggests that the play was written specifically for the Werburgh Street Theatre while Shirley was in Ireland, but this assumption has been justly challenged.²¹² The second Quarto claims on its title page that '*it was*

²¹⁰ There is no entry in the Stationers' Register around 1657 that would indicate that the text had changed hands. However, printing was not well regulated at that point. Joshua Kirton and John Raworth seem to have had some contact with one another, since in 1639 Raworth printed *A declaration of the Queene, mother of the most Christian King Containing the reasons of her departure out of the Low-Countreys; and disavowing a manifest, set out in her name upon the same argument, by Marie de Médicis, Queen, consort of Henry IV, King of France, 1573-1642* (London, 1639), but there are no further surviving collaborations between the two. Kirton shows no sign of involvement in printing drama until 1657, when he published Chapman's *Bussy d'Ambois*. This (and the supposed two plays by Shirley) are the only plays to be printed by Kirton that have come to light. Kirton's last publication was in 1666 and his will is dated 6 November 1667 (National Archives, Kew, PROB 11/325/321).

²¹¹ Van Lennep, *London Stage*, p. 94.

²¹² Nason, *James Shirley*, p. 314. Justine Williams points out that: '*St. Patrick for Ireland* and *The Constant Maid* were published together, and this circumstance has generally led scholars to assume that *The Constant Maid* formed part of the Irish canon. While *St. Patrick for Ireland* was unquestionably written for the Dublin stage, it is most likely that *The Constant Maid* was written before the dramatist left England.' (p. 278). Williams concludes that *The Constant Maid* does not contain traces of the thematic elements that link the plays of Shirley's 'Irish' period,

acted with great Applause, by Her Majesties Servants at the Phoenix in Drury Lane', but this is not reliable information. T. J. King has demonstrated that the printer, James Cottrel, reused the title page from that of *The City Night Cap* by Robert Davenport, which he printed for Samuel Speed at the same time as *The Constant Maid*.²¹³

and that it is not at all likely to have been written with an Irish audience in mind. *The Irish Plays of James Shirley 1636-1640*, Thesis, University of Warwick, 2010.

²¹³ King, T. J. 'Shirley's *Coronation* and *Love Will Find out the Way*: Erroneous Title-Pages.' *Studies in Bibliography: Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia*, 18 (1965): 265-69.

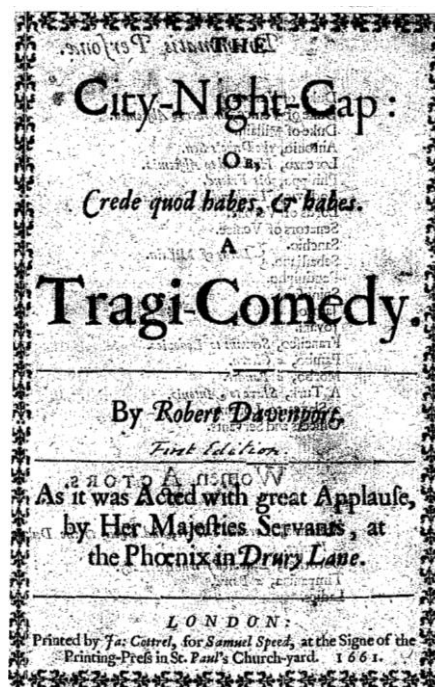
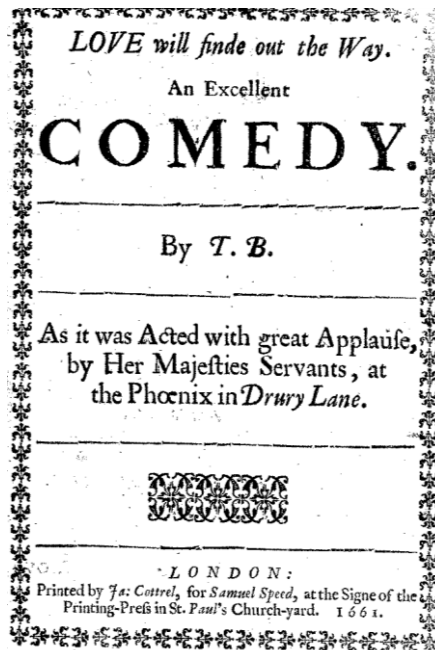


Figure 3: Cover pages of *The City Night Cap* and *Love Will Find out the Way*, 1661.

Edward Esche points out that this does not necessarily mean that no performance took place at the Cockpit during Charles II's reign.²¹⁴ There may also have been a production of this play at the Cockpit after the Restoration, but the title page is more likely to refer to a Caroline production than to a Restoration one, since there was no acting company trading as 'Her Majesties Servants' in 1661. The Cockpit (a.k.a. the Phoenix) was briefly used by a united company formed by Davenant and Killigrew from October 1660, until they split into the King's and Duke's companies a few weeks later, but there is nothing to suggest that *The Constant Maid* was in their joint repertoire: if it had been, it might have ended up in the possession of one of them. However, it is not among the patents issued to either company and neither performed it subsequently. The Cockpit was used illegally during the Interregnum; John Rhodes held the lease and Downes reports productions there in 1659. Rhodes was fined for illegal playing there on 28 July 1660, as Thomas Lilleston had been on 4 February that year. Pepys saw *The Loyal Subject* there on 18 August 1660, but by the end of 1660 the theatre was defunct. Of course, even if *The Constant Maid* had been performed illegally in the Interregnum the fact would hardly be advertised in print.²¹⁵

As the title page of Q3 provides strong evidence that George Jolly's troupe performed *The Constant Maid* before 1667, it is likely that the play was in the company's repertoire from an earlier point. Jolly had started a theatre company at the Restoration, and in fact received a patent from Charles II on 24 December 1660:

²¹⁴ Edward J. Esche, 'Stages to Pages: The Four Quartos of Shirley's *The Constant Maid*' in *Spreading the Word: Texts and the Text* Internet-Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften 16 Herausgeberin ed. by Mihaela Irimia (University of Bucharest) 2006.
http://www.inst.at/trans/16Nr/09_6/esche16.htm [accessed August 2013]

²¹⁵ Van Lennep, *London Stage*, p. xxxiii.

in regard of the extraordinary Licentiousness that has bin lately used in things of this nature, Our pleasure is that you doe not at any time hereafter cause to be acted or represented any Play, Enterlude or Opera containing any matter of profanation, scurrility or obscenity, and this our Grant and Authority made to the said George Jolly shall be effectual notwithstanding any former grant made by us to our trusty and well beloved Servant Thomas Killegrew Esq and Sir William Davenant Knt. or any other person or persons whatsoever to the contrary.²¹⁶

Nicoll concludes that Jolly operated a theatre company at the Red Bull for the first half of 1661, and gave more shows there early in 1662.²¹⁷ In the intervening period, Jolly moved to Salisbury Court, as a tenant of William Beeston. After quarrelling with the owner about the rent in the summer of 1661, Jolly moved to the Cockpit, but was ordered back to Salisbury Court in November 1661.²¹⁸ This company was shut down when Beeston complained to the King following a dispute and Jolly's patent was revoked. Nonetheless, Jolly repeatedly attempted to re-start a company in the ensuing years. When the theatres reopened in 1666 following the plague, Jolly re-opened a playhouse of his own.²¹⁹ Shortly after this, Jolly's company was more firmly shut down, with an order issued from Whitehall in March 1666/7, and Jolly himself was arrested on 8 April, presumably for contravention of this order.²²⁰ Q3 of *The Constant Maid* coincides with this final closure. Jolly may have organized a

²¹⁶ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic series, Charles II, xxiv, 37, Public Record Office.* In Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, p. 178.

²¹⁷ Nicoll, *English Drama*, vol 1, pp. 309-10.

²¹⁸ Nicoll, *English Drama*, vol 1, pp. 308-9.

²¹⁹ Nicoll, *English Drama*, vol 1, pp. 292, 308-16. See also Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, pp. 167-209

²²⁰ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1666-7, p. 602; printed in Hotson, Commonwealth and Restoration Stage, p. 186.* See also Nicoll, *English Drama*, p. 312.

production of *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* by Robert Greene at the Cockpit in 1662, though Van Lennep notes that this could have been Killigrew. It is therefore possible that the title page of Q2 is accurate in its claim that the play was performed at The Cockpit, albeit by a company who cannot reasonably be called 'Her Majesties Servants'. No further information about the production is obvious in Q3, and unfortunately the names of the actors are not given, although giving this had become fairly common practice by that time.²²¹

Publication History

Identification of 'T. B.' of the title page is difficult without more certainty about other details, Bentley tentatively suggests 'Theophilus Bird'.²²² There were two seventeenth-century actors by that name: the older Theophilus (1608-1663) acted at the Cockpit with the Queen's Men from 1625, and so is likely to have been part of the Caroline production of *The Constant Maid*, but cannot have been involved with a production taking place in 1667, three years after his death.²²³ He is recorded as the actor playing the role of 'Second Lord', in the manuscript cast list for a Restoration production in the Octavo of *The Cardinal* in the Brotherton Collection, Leeds.²²⁴ His son, Theophilus Jr, became a member of the King's Company from 'at least 1664-5 through 1673-4', and therefore cannot have been part of the Hatton Garden Nursery production in 1667 recalled by Langbaine.²²⁵ It is, in fact, possible that either the father or the son may have worked with Jolly: there are years unaccounted for in the elder Bird's life, between the closing of the theatres in 1642 and his return to London in 1647. Highfill, Burnim and Langhans conjecture: 'perhaps he, like several

²²¹ This seems to be the only playtext published which mentions being performed at Hatton Garden on its title page.

²²² Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, vol. 5, p. 1096.

²²³ Highfill, Burnim and Langhans, *BDA*, vol. 2, pp. 133-5.

²²⁴ Yearling, *The Cardinal*, p. 27.

²²⁵ Highfill, Burnim and Langhans, *BDA*, vol. 2, p. 135.

other actors, went into military service for a while'.²²⁶ Perhaps rather than in the armed forces, he accompanied Jolly to Germany and the Netherlands, where the latter continued to be active as a theatre manager. It is equally possible that the younger Theophilus Bird was a member of the Nursery Company at Hatton Garden in his youth, but, even if this were the case, he had left them and followed in his father's footsteps to become a member of Killigrew's company before 1667. Since neither Bird is a satisfactory fit for the speaker of the epilogue, other T. B.s might be considered: Thomas Betterton (1635-1710), who was a member of the Duke's Company in 1667 and Thomas Bateman (fl. 1660-69), a minor player in the King's Company.

Samuel Speed (1633-c.1681), the publisher of Q3, was a stationer of St. Dunstan's, London, and a bookseller at the Rainbow, Fleet Street. He was arrested on 8 May 1666 on the charge of publishing and dispersing seditious books, and was discharged on the 26th on giving his bond for 300*l.* to discontinue the practice.²²⁷ Anthony Wood reports him as: 'a pretender to Poetry, hath written Prison-Piety: or meditations divine and moral, &c. Lond. 1677. in tw. and other trivial things'.²²⁸ Speed's decision to reissue Shirley's play in 1667, the year after his arrest, may have been something to do with his desire to clean up his practice. Stephen Wright suggests that: 'It seems possible that this brush with the law affected Speed's trade; perhaps he had enemies in the Stationers' Company'. Q3 contains the same advertisements on the final page as Q2, for *The Old Couple*, and *The City Night-Cap*, 'lately Printed' by Samuel Speed, and to be had 'with variety of other plays' 'at the Printing Press in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1661' (p. 61). This suggests that the re-issue of the

²²⁶ Highfill, Burnim and Langhans, *BDA*, vol. 2, p. 134.

²²⁷ *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic Series 1665-6, pp. 386, 409, 413; Stephen Wright, 'Speed, Samuel (bap. 1633, d. 1679?)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26096, accessed 22 December 2013].

²²⁸ Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. 2, p. 197.

play was made in haste, with no attention to updating such details to include plays Speed had subsequently printed, which included *The Villain* by Thomas Porter, which he printed in 1663, or Thomas Southerne's *The Ungrateful Favourite*, printed for Speed by James Cottrel in 1664. A new title page is the only change, otherwise pages from the 1661 print run are used, and no sheets appear to have been replaced, even those with obvious mistakes such as an upside-down character in the pagination (p. 32).

Aside from a brief note by Bentley, the first evaluation of the two different versions of this play was by A. P. Reimer in 1969.²²⁹ Reimer argues against the previously held theory that Shirley was dissatisfied with Cook and Crooke as publishers and therefore sent the text of subsequent plays, including *The Constant Maid*, to Whitaker. He argues that Q2 is not a Restoration revision of the play, suggesting that the publication date, 1661, is too early for it to be a Restoration revision (though why he assumes this is not clear; after all, the edited version of *The Grateful Servant* appeared even earlier). Reimer is convinced that the later Quarto is inferior to the first:

Q1 seems to have been derived from a clean, legible manuscript in which the stage directions are of the type and frequency one would expect from a publication; the division between prose and verse is reasonably exact, and there is a marked paucity of the confusions one normally finds in a seventeenth-century play-text. Q2, on the other hand, abounds in confusions. Some speeches are garbled beyond recognition, stage directions are much fuller than in Q1, but they are very confused, and there is any number of muddles and barbarisms in the text itself.²³⁰

²²⁹ Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, V (1956), pp. 1095-96. A. P. Reimer, 'Shirley's Revisions and the Date of *The Constant Maid*', *Review of English Studies* 17 (1969), 141-48.

²³⁰ Reimer, 'Shirley's Revisions', p. 142.

Reimer's core assumption that Q2 is the 'inferior' Quarto, creates some significant flaws in his argument, and results in circular logic. He concludes that there was an *ur*-text of the play, which was offered to The Queen's Men, but rejected. Shirley then, Reimer argues, revised the play and gave it to Ogilby for Werburgh Street, while Q2 was set from a slightly edited version of the earlier, inferior, manuscript *ur*-text. Esche points out some obvious objections to this logic, and finds more rational explanations for some of the changes made for Q2. In what follows I will suggest still more objections, via a more thorough account of the differences between Q1 and Q2, exploring Esche's suggestion that many are theatrical in nature, and that some changes have been made deliberately to update the play for a new generation of theatre-goers and readers.

Warbeck to Lambert

The most prominent alteration to *The Constant Maid* from Q1 to Q2, besides the change of title, is a change to some character names: the list of 'Actors Names' is reordered and gives different information about each character. The most interesting of which is that the 'pretender king', 'Warbeck' in Q1, presumably after the famous Perkin Warbeck (c. 1474-1499) becomes 'Lambert' in Q2. Esche notes that although Perkin Warbeck and Lambert Simnel (b. 1476/7-d. after 1534) were contemporaries, and the names may have been interchangeable in the Early-Modern mind, there was another Lambert who was politically active in the Interregnum, and who may have been deliberately recalled by the name: John Lambert (bap. 1619-d. 1684). Lambert fought for the Parliamentary army in the Civil War, and was promoted to high office in the Interregnum, only to fall from Oliver Cromwell's favour, and was dismissed in July 1657, owing to his refusal to take an oath of loyalty imposed

by Parliament.²³¹ He enjoyed a brief recovery of his status under Richard Cromwell, as colonel of two regiments, and a leading member of the General Council. After a split with the Royalist, George Monck, Duke of Albemarle, he tried unsuccessfully to rally forces against the Restoration in 1660, for which he was tried for treason in 1662 and ultimately condemned to life imprisonment. Esche writes that although the parallel is clear, ‘The difficulty is in reading the resonance. Perhaps it might not be too much to suggest that the hand that revised Q1 to become Q2 was, if not Shirley himself, then very much like him - possibly a Catholic, probably a royalist, and certainly pointing to the once powerful John Lambert as a “pretender” in the final analysis.’ The amendments to *The Constant Maid* were made well before Lambert’s trial on 19 June 1662, since the play was published in 1661. However, by the time of the Restoration in May 1660 it was clear that Lambert had fought on the losing side, and his demise would surely follow. One Restoration panegyrist, John Couch (whose publisher was, ironically, the actor Thomas Betterton, who completed an apprenticeship to a stationer before he became an actor) wrote of Lambert in 1661:

Lambert, proud of Vict’ry without Fight,
Rears his hopes to a *Protectorian height*;
The Army gather into mutinous Heards,
March up, and pluck their Masters by the Beards.
The *Rump* turns backwards on a fatall broach,
Rise and do reverence to the Swords approach;
But *Lambert* spight of *Countrey, Rump*, and *City*,
Winds up three Nations into *one Committee*,
Ycleped *Safety*; but event ere long,
Declar’d the Bastard Child was Christn’d wrong.

²³¹ D. N. Farr, ‘Lambert, John (bap. 1619-d. 1684)’, *ODNB*, (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, Jan 2008 [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15939, accessed 11 Dec 2013].

...

Mean time new Workmen from the Scottish Land
 Prepares themselves, with sharp tools in their hand:
 out of the frozen pole starts a good *Swain*,
 Rigs up, and wheels *Charles* long-dismounted *Wain*:
 The *Lambertonians* shrink, refuse to *Move*
 Encourag'd by apostate friends *Above*;
 Who for a little *coyn*, and lesse *applause*,
 Leave their Lieutenant and the *Good old Cause*.²³²

If Shirley did indeed make the corrections, it was not the first time that he deliberately poked fun in a play at a political adversary fallen from grace. In *The Bird in a Cage*, he gives an ironic dedication to the puritan William Prynne, who was in disgrace at the time of the play's first performance for offending Queen Henrietta Maria by referring to actresses as 'notorious whores' in his infamous castigation of the theatre, *Histriomastix*.²³³ Recalling Lambert also makes metatheatrical reference to a satirical play about Lambert, written by John Tatham in 1659, entitled *The Rump*.²³⁴

The Rump

The prologue, which appeared in both editions, makes a virtue of the plainness of the play's style, offering 'truth' as a greater virtue in a comedy than 'language three stories high'. Tatham claims to be breaking with custom in

²³² John Crouch, *A mixt poem, partly historicall, partly panegyricall, upon the happy return of His Sacred Majesty Charles the Second and his illustrious brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester* (London: Printed for Thomas Betterton, 1660), pp. 10-11.

²³³ *The Bird in a Cage in Three Seventeenth-Century Plays on Women*, ed. by Hero Chalmers, Julie Sanders and Sophie Tomlinson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).

²³⁴ John Tatham, *The Rump or, The Mirrour of the Late Times, A New Comedy*, (London: Printed for R. Bloom, 1661)

taking this approach, but his plainer, less embellished style is in keeping with the amendments to *The Grateful Secret* discussed above, and those in the promptbooks, discussed in section four. When Tatham was writing, this style was becoming the new mode.

The author, not distrusting of his play,
 Leaves custom's road, and walks another way.
 Expect not here, language three stories high:
 Star-tearing strains fit not a comedy.
 Here's no elaborate scenes, for he confesses
 He took no pains in't. Truth doth need no dresses,
 No amorous pulling passions; here the lord
 And lady rather differ than accord.
 What can be in't, you'll say, if none of these?
 It is all one; he's sure the thing will please
 The truly Loyal Party; but what then?
 Why, truly he thinks them the better men.

While it may sound disingenuous, Tatham's claim that he 'took no pains' in composing this play is probably something like truth, since it was apparently written in a hurry, in response to current events. It cannot have been written before February 1659, when the Rump was overturned by Monck, but it was performed that month or in March, and was certainly in print by November, when Pepys bought his copy. J. Maidment and W. H. Logan credit it as successful propaganda on the eve of the Restoration:

whatever may be said against the drama as a comedy, we apprehend that as an *historical* play descriptive of the times, the living actors, the intrigues of the competitors for power, their instruments, the wives of the would-be rulers, it is admirable – in a word, that as calculated to

further the object in view nothing better could have been constructed.²³⁵

Although Lambert was rewarded by Parliament in August 1659 for defeating Sir George Booth's band of Royalist forces in Cheshire, his end was inglorious; ultimately deserted by his army in the North, they went over to Fairfax. Lambert was arrested by the Rump when returned to London. He was committed to the Tower on 6 March, escaped three days later, but was arrested again on the 22nd of the same month.

The desire for a free Parliament, and disappointment with Cromwell's Protectorate, developing rapidly into a new monarchy, frustrated people on both sides of the political divide. *The Rump* is especially poignant and revealing in its presentation of authority figures. A conversation between two soldiers in *The Rump* points to the discomfort felt about the Protector assuming a Monarch's role in all but name, and his progression towards tyrannical autocracy.

1 Souldier. 'Tis Bertlam for my Money, boys. He is Our General, Our Protector, Our King, Our Emperor, Our *Caesar*, Our *Keasar*, our -- Even what he pleaseth himself.

2 Souldier. If he pleaseth himself, he shall please me.

1 Souldier. He is Our rising Sun, and Wee'l adore him. (1.1, pp. 2-3)

²³⁵ Granger, vol 4. p. 2, London 1824, quoted in Tatham, *The Dramatic Works of Tatham*, edited by J. Maidment and W. H. Logan (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1967), p. 196. They add that Lambert's ambitious nature made him a threat to Cromwell: 'The Protector regarded him with a jealous eye; and, upon his refusal to take the oath to be faithful to his Government, deprived him of his commissions, but granted him a pension of £2000. This was an act of prudence rather than generosity, as he well knew that such a genius as Lambert's, rendered desperate by poverty, was capable of attempting anything.' p. 200.

The first scene in which we meet Bertlam, Lockwhite addresses him as 'your highness'. Bertlam responds: 'It is not come to that yet', but Lockwhite points out 'Oliver had it; his time is past, and your time's coming on'. Bertlam's wife is obsessed with being addressed as 'Your highness':

Lady Bertlam. I think I am better shap'd for't then *Iea*, or what do you call her *Cromwell*. [*She surveys her self*].

Priss. Abundantly, for at her best She was but a bundle of --*Madam*-- Lord, I am so forgetful, *Highness* I should have said.

Lady Bertlam. That's the Word, Con it, and be perfect in't, or I profess you and I shall part---

Priss repeats to her selfe, Highness, Highness, Highness, Highness.

Enter Walker.

What's the Newes with you?

Am I sent for to *Wallingford-House*?

Secretary. No, *Madam*.

Lady Bertlam. What a beetle-headed fellow's this[?]

Prissilla. Highness, you Changling; you must call her Highness. (2.1, p. 16)

Her maidservant, Priscilla, likewise begins to muse on being 'ladyfied':

Lord! how honour creeps upon me; I shall be ladyfied, there's no doubt on't. How my ears will be fill'd with madams! And Will your ladyship be pleas'd? What will your Ladyship have to breakfast? How do you, madam? I am come to give you a visit, madam! Will you go to Hide-park today madam?... I am as proud as she, and methinks it sounds very well. Madam! Why, 'tis a word of state! (4.1, p. 46).

This satire, based on a familiar Jonsonian comic trope of social climbing, in Tatham's hands lightheartedly points at a deeper, more uncomfortable truth about England's failed experiment with republicanism. Cromwell's quick rise to 'Lord Protector', gave rise to the legitimate fear that one tyrant had simply been replaced with another; an outcome of the years of civic strife that was satisfactory to no one. At the mention of Oliver, Bertlam recoils: 'name him no more, I do hate the memory'. This attitude might be emblematic of the impulse that caused the editor of *The Grateful Servant* and *The Constant Maid* to avoid recalling political conflict, tyranny and poor leadership. Cromwell is not kindly spoken of in *The Rump*, by either loyalists or republicans.

Mark Noble records Mrs. Lambert as a woman who 'employed herself only in praying and singing hymms'.²³⁶ He describes her as 'a woman of good birth and good parts, and of pleasing attractions both for mind and body'. Claiming that she was of such unquestionable virtue that 'there could be no hurt arise in [Cromwell] holding heavenly meditations with Mrs. Lambert.' Noble acknowledges the existence of a rumour that she and Cromwell produced a natural son 'but it is too marvelous to be true'. A poem of 1660 entitled *Iter Australe*, suggests the same:

[Some] would have him a *David*, 'cause he went
To Lambert's wife, when he was in his tent;

While Noble gives short shrift to this particular rumour, there is a note of the suspicion with which her influence over the Lord Protector was regarded, lurking inside a bawdy pun: 'it was a court jest, that the protector's instrument (of government) was found under my lady Lambert's petticoat.' (p. 157)

²³⁶ Mark Noble, *Memoirs of the Protectorate House of Cromwell: Deduced from an Early Generation and Continued Down the Line*. Third edition (London: Pearson and Rollason, 1784), p. 157.

The role of the Lord Protector was constantly being redefined in documents like Lambert's 1653 *Instrument* and the third Protectorate Parliament's 1657 *Humble Petition and Advice*, and it was precisely the written nature of these constitutions that made them disposable.²³⁷ As John Lilburne's *A Declaration of the Freeborn People* put it in 1654, "if he [Cromwell] pleases to throw away (or burne by the hands of the hangman) his Limits in his paper of Government, who can trouble him?"²³⁸

Esche concludes that the contemporary relevance of the name Lambert provides a useful clue as to the date of the edition, and he conjectures that Q2's appearance may be connected with a production in 1661:

Many of the substantive changes in 3.2 clearly point to performance, as they attempt to make clear stage business otherwise unclear in Q1. And publication often followed performance. My current guess is that there was a performance in the near past, and I think that the name change from Warbeck to Lambert gives us at least a partial clue as to why and when the 1661 revision was made.²³⁹

²³⁷ *The Humble Petition and Advice Presented unto His Highness the Lord Protector by the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses assembled at the Parliament begun and held at Westminster the 17th day of September, 1656 and there continued until the 26th day of June following and then adjourned unto the 20th day of January 1657: as also their Humble Additionall and Explanatory Petition and Advice Presented unto His Highness in the same Parliament: Together with His Highness Consent unto the said Petitions when they were Respectively Presented* (Edinburgh: Reprinted by Christopher Higgins, 1657).

²³⁸ P. R. Hill and J. M. Watkinson, *Cromwell Hath the Honour, but... Major General Lambert's Campaigns in the North, 1648* (London: Frontline Books, 2012).

²³⁹ Esche, 'Stages to Pages'.

Esche does not elaborate on which changes ‘point to performance’, and there has not yet been a systematic analysis of the changes to the stage directions. My own analysis of the stage directions and some other minor amendments supports Esche’s assertions, and leads to the hypothesis that Q2 may even have been set from a prompt-copy.

‘More Perfume!’: Stage Directions in *The Constant Maid* Q1 and Q2

The first stage direction to appear differently in Q2 is an excellent case in point. In 1.1, Q1 has ‘*Enter Hartwell and servants*’. This entrance note is missing a name, as Close has lines in the following dialogue, but no entrance is noted for him. Close is technically a servant, so Q1 is not incorrect, but he is a major character and a prompter would be likely to notice the oversight and add the character’s name. Q2’s ‘*Enter Hartwell, Close, servants*’ is a more useful stage direction, both for actors and for readers. Such improvements continue. For example, 3.2 contains a line that clearly indicates that the Nurse ought to leave the stage:

Nurse: we’ll not be seen together

Clos. Go your ways

The stage direction is not given in Q1. In Q2 the stage direction is added, and, again, could be the work of a prompter, but the line given to Close in Q1 is given to the Nurse in Q2, which might indicate that the editor was not the prompter but someone interested in making the stage business clear to the reader. Once again, suspicion rests with Shirley.

Nurse. We’ll not be seen together,

Go your ways – *Exit Nurse and Startup*

Distribution of lines is changed again in the same scene in the sequence between Playfair and his relative – a character who transforms from Playfair's cousin in Q1 to his brother in Q2. The change is consistent throughout the text and well thought out. For example, the word 'Couze' is dropped from the dialogue in Q2, since otherwise it would be inconsistent with the stage direction introducing him to the reader as '*Doctor his brother*'. The altered stage directions in that scene also make it easier to follow. Q1 presents some confusion over speech headings for this character; in consecutive speech headings he is referred to as '*Cous*' and '*Doct*'. Both are accurate, since he is in disguise as a doctor, but this is not made explicit in the stage directions. Q2 does make this clear, as the stage direction marking his entrance reads '*Enter Playfaire and Doctor his brother*' and he is consistently referred to as '*Doct*' in the speech headings in this scene (pp. 26-7). Additionally, in Q2 an exit is marked for the Doctor that does not appear in Q1 (p. 27). The dialogue in both versions makes it abundantly clear that the doctor should leave the stage to change into his costume for the ruse they are plotting: 'but shift you quickly for your other part/ My honourable Lords'. In Q1 there is no indication in Act Three that the cousin is still dressed as the doctor, so this line is potentially confusing to a reader. This would, of course, still be clear on stage. A Caroline dramatist may not have felt the need to add a stage direction stating the obvious, but a prompter might. In Q2, the line is abbreviated to 'but shift you quickly – My honourable Lords – *Exit Doctor*', so that the stage direction is certainly required if a reader is to follow the action adequately.

In the same scene, Q2 makes a little more of the entrance of '*one with perfume*', which is called for in the stage directions for both, by adding two words for Playfair: 'More perfume'. This makes much more sense of the perfume-bearer's entrance, which is not as clearly related to the dialogue in Q1. It occurs at the point when third Lord comments that his lordly costume 'smells of honour', but in Q1 it appears that the servant must have been tasked with

loitering in the halls at all times in case scent is mentioned in conversation! This kind of careful alteration to the dialogue is highly suggestive that Shirley's own hand was involved: the playwright may even have recalled details he intended in the original draft, which did not make it into the first published edition. Shirley may have made changes based on observations he made when he saw the play performed. Perhaps in a smaller theatre some members of the audience would even have smelled the perfume. Perfume is similarly called for in Act Four of *The Traitor*.

The fourth act is littered with examples of additional stage directions in Q2 that are clearly improvements upon the earlier edition. The instructions, '*Exit Close*' and '*Enter Close*', appear in Q2 before and after Startup's speech beginning 'Dost thou know the devil if thou seest him, Close?' This might suggest a closer adherence to a staged version in Q2, where Close actually does leave the stage, unbeknownst to Startup. This is more comic than Q1, in which he appears to remain onstage. The deletion of 'I know' seems to compromise the sense, but it does correct the pentameter if taken together with the following line of Close's: 'Sir, where are you?'

I am frozen to the blanket, and my teeth
Strike one another, and keep time like hammers;
I do believe if they were beaten out,
They would make false Dice, there's Quick-silver in 'em
Already by their dancing. *Enter Close.*

Close. Sir, where are you?
Star. Here I am, here still.
Close. Y'are a dead man.
Star. More terrour? what's the matter?
Close. 'Tis my Master

With a dark lanthorn, and pursues us, by
 This darkness; 'tis his voice, wrap your self up (p. 35).

The next lines also follow iambic pentameter more neatly in Q2 than Q1, because two additional syllables 'here still' are added to Q2, where Q1 has: '*Startup: Here I am still*' (sig. F), so that the line makes an incomplete line of iambic pentameter, even when taken with 'Y'are a dead man'.

Some even more obvious examples of carefully improved stage directions in Q2 include the change from Q1's '*Enter Cousen and Lords.*' to '*Enter Lambert, Playfaire and attendance.*' This is simple enough and in keeping with the other changes to names of characters in that scene, but also making clear that Playfaire also enters, which is not specified in Q1 but is nonetheless called for. Similarly Q1's '*Enter Sir Clement* (sig. G3v) becomes '*Enter Playfaire's brother for the 4 Lord.*' in Q2, giving not only the character's entrance but explaining the disguise he has assumed. This character pretends to be a doctor as well as a lord in two separate but related schemes to confound the miserly Hornet. Any explanation of this deliberately confusing plot at this point in the play is welcome.

Another obvious improvement to the stage directions in Act Four occurs at the end of the masque. Q1 repeats a stage direction calling for the exit of all of the masquers:

Paris receives the Neece, and gives Venus the Ball; Juno, Pallas, with their Masquers, Exeunt.

She's saf enough at home,
 And has but halfe her wits, as I remember:
 The devil cannot juggle her from my custody.

Ha, ha, I do dreame still.

Cupid joynes their bands, and sings; Which done,

Exeunt Masquers. (sig. Hv)

Q2 does not contain the second of these, so that the masquers, once they have exited, are not called for again. This entrance does include a typo in Q2, which is particularly obviously a compositor's error: 'attendants', but this does not detract from the overall clarity and precision of the alterations to the stage directions. These changes, each insubstantial in itself, accumulate to produce a text in which it is easier to picture the characters and their movements. It seems that the Q1 text has benefited from being worked through by actors with elucidatory notes about their movement and appearance incorporated into Q2. It would be tedious to enumerate further instances of altered stage directions in the play, but they are numerous, and Q2 is the superior text in almost all instances. It is easier for readers of Q2 to imagine who is onstage, and it provides clearer instructions to a director.

One minor amendment might give us some indication of a changed decision regarding staging. Bellamy asks her daughter in Q1 'Do you love this Gentleman,' in the line immediately below the stage direction '*Exit Hartwell and Close*', indicating that Bellamy gestures towards the retreating figure of Hartwell as she delivers this line. In Q2, ambiguity is removed by the alteration of the line to 'Do you love / That Master *Hartwell*? Do not blush, but answer'. Although this line is similarly placed after Hartwell and Close's exit, while they might still be making their way off the stage and potentially still in earshot, Mistress Bellamy names Hartwell directly. This may help to make matters clearer for the reader (or actor), and the gesture towards Hartwell is more clearly called for by the word 'That'. The indication that Frances is blushing provides a further implied stage direction, as well as underscoring Frances's

modesty. Blushing was taken to be a sign that the woman was able to feel and express shame, rather than being taken as an indication of guilt. As opposed to women with faces heavily coated with white paints, which caused the blush to be unseen, women unable to blush were thought to feel no shame and therefore to lack modesty.²⁴⁰

The alterations do not merely clarify the movements of characters, but also improve our understanding of Shirley's masterful use of stage effects. The stage direction '*Enter Hartwell*' in Q1 (also in 3.2, sig. Fv) becomes '*Enter Hartwel [sic.] with a Landthorn*' in Q2 (p. 35), confirming the detail given in the dialogue a few lines earlier, but adding no new information. It is night time, and the dialogue has emphasised the importance of the darkness to the scene throughout. Shirley would have been very familiar with the lighting arrangements in the indoor theatres, and known that at each of the four act intervals the candles lighting the theatre would need to be replaced. Placing the lantern in Hartwell's hand gives the actor greater control over the lighting of the scene, and keeping the major light source in hand would have produced an effect similar to that of a spotlight. The fact that the words appear in the stage direction might suggest that the copy was based on a text of Q1 augmented with theatrical notes. We learn from later dialogue that Act Four takes place after 1 am, in pitch blackness. Hartwell's lantern makes another appearance, this time unlit, which adds to the sense of the late night (which would have been achieved in the Caroline indoor theatre during an afternoon performance by closing the shutters, and, in winter, the fourth act would have occurred around nightfall, as the performance began around 2:30pm. The darkness is necessary to the plot as the scene relies on characters' fear and confusion. It also emphasises the fact that the play adheres to unity of time, taking place within twenty-four hours.

²⁴⁰ Farah Karim Cooper, *Cosmetics in Shakespearean and Renaissance Drama* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), p. 48.

Hearing the play

The revised stage directions develop Shirley's aural as well as visual effects. A further example of a stage direction that clarifies the action - and could have come from performance notes - is when Startup calls out to Close and the Watchmen from inside a ditch, in 3.2. Q2 clarifies that the voice should come from offstage: '*Within. Startup*', (p. 38). In Q1, the speech prefix simply reads '*Star.*' (sig. F3). This makes the text clearer for readers, certainly, but the change could feasibly have originated in a prompt-copy. Q2 not only adds stage directions clarifying characters' whereabouts and movements, it also identifies and removes extraneous notes. In Q1 an entrance is marked for the Watchmen (sig. F3) when they are clearly already onstage, and no exit is marked for them. Q2 removes this unnecessary and misleading entrance (p. 38).

In the same act, Bellamy's line 'Some knock there: Beshrew me but I trembled' in Q1 is altered and augmented with stage directions in Q2:

Bel. Some knock; they're there; go see – *Knock. Exit Nurse.*

Beshrew me but I trembled.

Enter Nurse

These additional stage directions are a good indication that this edition may have been set from a script that was used in the theatre. They are consistent with the fact that Nurse and Bellamy are in a room in the house, not standing next to the front door – which might indicate greater awareness of place in the Restoration theatre context, thanks to the use of painted scenery. It also leaves Bellamy alone to deliver 'beshrew me but I trembled' – it is interesting that this line becomes a private confession, rather than a statement to the Nurse. Later in the same scene, Q1 gives the stage direction '*Exit Countryman*', while Q2 has '*Exit Coun. And Nurse.*' The latter is correct, since both indicate in the dialogue

that the Nurse is to escort Countryman to a bedroom: '*Nurse*, a light: pray walk, sir' (p. 40). Furthermore, in Q1, a stage direction is moved to create a neater flow of actors on and off stage. The stage direction comes after Frances's line, the beginning of a new conversation with her mother, rather than after the previous line, in which Bellamy indicates that the Countryman is to leave the room.

In Act Four, a slightly longer edit alters the dialogue a little as well as adding a musical cue. Q1 has

Cons. ... we shall

Employ your mighty diligence.

Horn. Heaven blesse your mightie Grace.

Cons. You'll follow.

Horn. I attend you presently: (sig. G3v)

Q2 adds a 'flourish' and further instructions to the actors:

Lam. There we shall employ your worthy diligence. --- *Flourish.*

Exit Lambert and attendance.

Hor. Heaven bless your mighty Grace.

Play. You'll follow. –

Hor. I attend you presently: (p. 46)

A final alteration to the stage directions in this sequence actually removes a sound cue, Q1 has '*Exit. Knocks.*' (sig. G4) while in the equivalent place Q2 has merely '*Exit.*' The knocking sound is mentioned in the dialogue, and for the reader Q2 is no poorer for its absence. It was not a sound-effect that required the attention of the prompter, as it would not have required the involvement of musicians since it could easily be made by the actors.

During the masque sequence, further additional stage directions in Q2 give a servant who is necessarily present in both versions his entrance and exit. Q2 also corrects some very obviously erroneous speech headings.

Horn. No, nor my Scrivener bawling out, Sir *Gyles*,
 Not at any hand your worship.
Horn. Then I dreame,
 And I am a fool to make a question on't.

Here Q1 gives Hornet two consecutive speech headings, which does not make sense. Q2 adds another and alters one, and is clearly an improvement,

Hor. No, nor my Scrivener bawling out, Sir *Gyles*?
Ser. Not at any nam'd your worship.
Hor. Then I dreame,
 And I am a fool to make a question on't. ----- *Exit Servant*

Q2 also adds another Flourish a few lines later, shortly before the entrance of Lambert, Poldavis and attendants.

Finally, it is worth noting here also that more songs are given in 1661 than in 1640.²⁴¹ The major singer of songs in the play is Hornet's Niece, in her 'mad' scenes. She sings the popular ballad *Love Will Find Out the Way*, which may lend its name to the revised edition, and in the same scene she sings a number of other popular ballads, bearing witness to an editor who was keeping abreast of the zeitgeist.

²⁴¹ For a discussion of the use of music in *The Constant Maid*, see David Stevens, 'The Stagecraft of James Shirley', *Educational Theatre Journal* 29 (1977), 493-516, p. 508-9.

A brief metatheatrical comment is added to Q2. During the scene in which the players are readying themselves, Q1 has:

Play. Now by that sprig, a pretty Majesty;
But wo't thou not be out of thy Kings part?

Where Q2 has:

Play. Now by that sprig, a pretty lump of Majesty,
No actor could become it half so royally:
But wilt thou not be out of thy Kings part?

Self-conscious asides such as this were more prevalent in the Restoration theatre than the public playhouses of the previous generation, which lent itself to greater audience-actor interaction thanks to the smaller, more intimate setting (as the private theatres in the Jacobean and Caroline periods had been) but further enhanced because of the lengthy, often improvised prologues and epilogues added to the plays. It is clear from the epilogue added to Q2 that the practice of augmenting older dramas with new material for a prologue and epilogue was already established. Cavendish also indulged in penning prologues and epilogues to be delivered by the short-lived troupe of English Actors engaged to perform for exiles in Paris.²⁴²

²⁴² *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer* noted: 'He has writ several things for the English Company that did lately act in *Parris* which shewth in him either an admirable temper and settledness of mind ... or else an infinite and vaine affection unto Poetry that in the ruines of his Country and himselfe to can be at the leisure to make Prologues and Epilogues for players', quoted in Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, pp. 21-22.

Are the amendments in Q2 an improvement?

Leaving aside the changes to stage directions, which, as I have argued, make the characters' movements easier to follow in Q2, there are extensive alterations to the dialogue, which also make the play clearer, often providing fuller explanations and character motivation. To begin with, the following passage appears in 1.2 in Q2, but not Q1:

Hor. Besides, who knows what tempests while we live
 May rise? 'tis wisdom not to be without
 A sun-shine in our bags to quiet all:
 I know you want no suitors in the City,
 There be courtiers, great ones, with large titles,
 Cold in their own estates, would warm themselves
 At your rich City-bonfire: there's no Alderman
 Or wealthy Merchant, leaves his widow wealthy,
 But straight some noble blood, or lustie kindred,
 Claps in with his guilt coach and Flandrian Trotters,
 And hurries her away to the next Countess:
 No matter for corruption of their blood;
 Some undone courtier made her husband rich,
 And this new Lord receives it back again.

The passage elucidates the line 'I would not have your estate swallowed up by caterpillars' which follows on from it, and is the point at which Q1 and Q2 become the same again. Horner's meaning when he uses the word 'caterpillars' is not as clear in Q1, which reads:

Horn. ... 'tis as commendable
 To give it in your will, to build an Hospitall,

And so our charitie comes altogether:
 I would not have your state be eaten up
 By Catterpillers but preserved and made
 Greater, by marrying some discreet old man.

The word 'caterpillars' was a widely-used as a term for, as one anonymous writer put it in 1659: 'corroding Cankers, that eat oftentimes so far into mens estates and lives, as that thereby they are the undoing of many Families', in reference to 'cruel creditors', who 'satisfy their malice' by 'undoing' their debtors with excessive interest charges.²⁴³

The redistribution of wealth and land back to the loyalist, aristocratic class was an important issue in 1660, when Charles II had to walk a tightrope between rewarding those who had remained loyal to him, and placating the old enemy by allowing them to retain the lands and titles they had secured under the Protectorate.²⁴⁴ However, these sentiments are in the mouth of a character for whom the audience, or reader, are unlikely to feel much sympathy. Hornet is hypocritical here, failing to acknowledge himself as one among those very 'caterpillars' who aim to marry the widow largely to secure her fortune for himself. We learn from the *dramatis personae* that Hornet is a usurer, a stock

²⁴³ Anon., *The Caterpillars of this Nation Anatomized* (London: Printed for M. H. at the Prince's Arms in Chancery Lane, 1659), p. 2.

²⁴⁴ Christopher Hill has argued that Charles II 'was restored not by popular clamour but by men of property', and that support for the 'good old cause' remained a threat to the stability of his reign. (*Some Intellectual Consequences of the English Revolution*, Madison: Univeristy of Wisconsin Press, 1980), pp. 10-11. Richard Greaves adds that there was an 'undercurrent of strong hostility' to the monarch. *Deliver Us From Evil: The Radical Underground in Britain 1660-63* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 21. In this climate, Charles was unable to risk imposing harsh financial penalties on his erstwhile enemies. Tim Harris, *Politics Under the Later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society 1660-1715* (London and New York: Longman, 2012), p. 32. Mark Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed: Britain 1603-1714*, (London: Penguin, 1996), pp. 223-5.

character roundly criticised and satirised in Early-Modern drama. Hartwell delivers an unflattering description of him to Frances later in the same scene:

He looks like some cast money-bag, that had given up
 The stuffing, and for want of use growne mouldy:
 He dares not keep much fire in's kitchen, lest
 Warming his hands, which rather looke like gloves,
 So tann'd and thin, he let em scorch, and gather
 Into a heap. I do not think he ever
 Put off his clothes, he would run-mad to see
 His own anatomy, that such a wretch
 Should have so vast a wealth.

Hartwell's censure of the unwashed miser is endorsed through Hornet's own lines and actions.

Hornet undermines himself repeatedly in this scene, and some of the small differences between Q1 and Q2 serve to develop this aspect of his character. For example, in Hornet's speech advising Mistress Bellamy on how she might save money, he makes an unintended pun. After telling her that her furniture, curtains and drapes are unnecessarily 'rich' and that 'worse hangings would serve', he says: 'costly pictures are / Superfluous, though of this, to t'other masters / Doing: Hang *Michael Angelo* and his oyles.' Clearly, by 'hang' Hornet means 'forget about', but the alternate sense of hang, as in hanging a painting, is obvious. One word is altered in Q2 in the line that follows: 'If they be given, y'are the more excus'd / To let 'em *shew*;' in Q1, is amended to 'let 'em *hang*' (Q2, p. 6, my italics). The alteration from 'shew' to 'hang' serves to underscore the pun on hang in the earlier line. This attention to detail, ensuring that the playwright's jokes at the character's expense are not missed, suggests a

careful and sympathetic editor, with a vested interest in the success of the imprint, and perhaps in Shirley's legacy as a writer.

Similarly, a few lines later, the amended punctuation in Q2 makes sense of Mistress Bellamy's response: 'But d'ye not / Think all this while of Heaven?' which reads 'But do not / Think all this while of heaven' in Q1, making little or no sense. Another such minor edit changes Q1's 'My patience was a vertue all this while' to 'My patience was *no* vertue all this while' in Q2. The latter reading is the more likely to convey Shirley's intended meaning, since Mistress Bellamy is asking Hornet *not* to return to dispense more of his miserly advice, and she is regretting having listened to him for so long. It seems likely in this instance that the Q1 version is an error caused by the compositor failing to notice the twist on the well-known proverb. At the end of the same speech of Bellamy's, the final line, in both cases following from 'Your rules I am not covetous to follow' has been amended from 'Good master *Hornet*' to 'I dare not love em'. By saying this after Hornet's speech declaring that hell is 'A fable to fright fools and children', Mistress Bellamy is clearly expressing her disgust at his impiety. The amendment to her parting line clears her of any hypocrisy, reserving that character flaw for Hornet, and thus making him even less appealing.

Reimer suggests that the added lines are 'particularly apt and pertinent to Hornet's speech, and that it illuminates and clarifies the shorter version of the speech as printed in Q1.' Reimer admits that in Q2, Hornet's speech has 'much more specific application to the social milieu in which the characters live and to which they are exposed - the whole ethos of the contemporary animosity between citizens and the gentry'.²⁴⁵ We can, therefore, by Reimer's own admission, judge Q2 to be the superior text, if we evaluate it in relation to its Restoration context. Reimer goes on to point out that 'it can be proved quite conclusively that the additional passage is by Shirley', since some of it is

²⁴⁵ Reimer, 'Shirley's Revisions', p. 144.

extracted from another of Shirley's plays, *The Lady of Pleasure*.²⁴⁶ In that context the speech reads:

Celestina. As if a lady of my years, some beautie
 Left by her husband rich, that had mourn'd him
 A twelve moneth too, could live so obscure i'th' towne
 That gallants would not know her, and invite
 Themselves without her chargeable proclamations;
 Then we are worse then Citizens, no widow
 Left wealthy can be thoroughly warme in mourning,
 But some one noble blood or lustie kindred
 Claps in, with his guilt coach and Flandrian trotters,
 And hurries her away to be a Countesse.
 Courtiers have spies, and great ones with large titles,
 Cold in their own estates, would warme themselves
 At a rich city bonfire.
Isabella. Most true Madam.
Celestina. No matter for corruption of their blood,
 Some undone courtier made her husband rich,
 And this new lord receives it back againe.

Reimer is convinced that this speech is inappropriate for Celestina, 'the aristocratic widow', suggesting

The ironic tone and conceptual basis of the passage suggest strongly that it is a warning about the predatoriness of 'noble blood' and 'lusty kindred', a class to which Celestina belongs, and whose values she shares in the play.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁶ Reimer, 'Shirley's Revisions', p. 144.

²⁴⁷ Reimer, 'Shirley's Revisions', p. 145.

Reimer finds the speech more in keeping with Horner's character, echoing 'the conventional mistrust of and the hostility expressed towards the gentry and aristocracy by the urban classes in seventeenth-century London.'²⁴⁸ From this, Reimer concludes that the speech was originally written for Horner, and that Q2 is the earliest of the plays, i.e. that Q2 must have been set from an *ur-text*, which he dates as early as 1630; this was, in Reimer's logic, followed by *The Lady of Pleasure* in 1635 and then Q1, a revised version of the *ur-text*, in 1636. He suggests that a speech from the *ur-Constant Maid* was transferred to *The Lady of Pleasure* because the former was rejected by the Queen's Men when Shirley offered it to them. The only grounds for the refusal Reimer sets out are that the players feared repercussions from a reference to Charles I selling honours in the subplot (paying no heed to the obvious objection that reference could quite easily have been removed) and that 'for some reason these lines pleased him'. In view of his other careful editorial practices, it seems unlikely that Shirley was lackadaisical enough to wedge the lines into a context in which they are apparently inappropriate, simply because the lines 'pleased him.

Reimer argues that the speech was composed for *The Lady of Pleasure*, and transferred to *Love Will Find Out the Way* later, on the grounds that if it had been the other way around 'the reviser would have had to telescope two speeches and do a considerable amount of rearranging'. In fact, that would seem a less far-fetched scenario than the one Reimer puts forward. Because Reimer considers Q2 to be the inferior text, he cannot acknowledge that the amendments may have been carefully considered, as indeed they can be argued to be; if Shirley, or the same person who edited *The Grateful Servant* completed them, it is not unreasonable that he would have taken this level of trouble.

²⁴⁸ Reimer, 'Shirley's Revisions', p. 145.

As well as refusing to judge Q2 on its own terms as a Restoration piece, Reimer's analysis refuses to allow space for consideration that the characters may have been tailored to two generations of actors who played them. Katherine Quinsey identifies a process of augmenting the female roles in older drama, providing a proto-feminist viewpoint in Restoration revivals not discernible in the originals. Quinsey suggests that the presence of women in the audience, together with their appearance as writers 'encouraged' playwrights to enact 'a deeply ambivalent engagement with questions of female subjectivity', by expanding speaking roles for women. She cites John Dryden and William Davenant's *Tempest*, 'which multiplies the number of women characters and alters Shakespeare's plot substantially to play with notions of sexual identity, sexuality, and sexual roles' as evidence of this transition.²⁴⁹

Yet, following Quinsey's argument, Shirley, or some other Restoration hand, may have undergone the laborious process of blending the lines into *Love Will Find Out the Way* to enhance the female role, to exploit the new presence of women on stage. The process of augmentation and development of female roles is continued in relation to another significant female character in this play: Mistress Bellamy. A soliloquy added to Q2 helps to provide the actress with a clearer sense of the progression of her emotions. Bellamy takes it upon herself to test the love between her daughter, Frances, and Hartwell, by pretending that she is in love with Hartwell herself. Hartwell's friend, Playfair, counsels him to respond positively to the older woman's advances. In Act Four, Bellamy reflects on this unexpected reaction:

Bel...

I have not dealt so nobly as became me

²⁴⁹ Katherine M. Quinsey, 'Introduction', in *Broken Boundaries: Women and Feminism in Restoration Drama*, edited by Katherine M. Quinsey, (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1996), p. 2.

With Hartwel; and that love which I pretended,
 If I have drawn his fancy to affect me,
 Must make him satisfaction; his language
 And soft demeanour, when he gave me up
 His resolution, made me quite forget
 My purpose to have chid him for his levity,
 So soon to leave my daughter, who I know
 Hath plac'd him neer her heart; and I have done
 Her injurie, by this tryal of her truth. (pp. 38-9)

Here Bellamy explains that Hartwell's professions of love toward her distracted her from her real purpose. The addition of these lines in 1661 extended the role of one actress. The fact that the Nurse, to whom Bellamy has been speaking, is off stage at this point and Bellamy is addressing the audience allows for maximum actor-audience contact. It also elucidates the plot twist in which Bellamy feigns romantic interest in her daughter's suitor, to see her repent at this point. Which Reimer notes as a problem:

In the other plot Frances and her lover Hartwell finally marry after much tribulation and opposition from Mistress Bellamy, the girl's mother, who blithely announces towards the end of the play that she had only been testing their constancy (p. 141).

Reimer does not mention the addition of Mistress Bellamy's soliloquy in Q2, presumably because it works against the premise, essential to his argument, that Q2 is the inferior play. If one of his objections to the play is the sudden transformation in Bellamy's attitude to Frances and Hartwell's relationship at the end, this speech must be understood as an improvement. By Reimer's logic, it makes no sense for this passage to have been cut from the *ur*-text during the composition of Q1, as Reimer claims Shirley must have done.

Two of Shirley's plays, *The Grateful Servant* and *The Constant Maid*, have clearly been worked over by a careful editor before they were reprinted and published for the Restoration market. Although there is only a year between their publication dates, the nature of the editorial choices differs considerably. *The Grateful Servant* is shortened, 'bowdlerized', stripped of flowing, descriptive verse and cleaned up to avoid implicit criticism of the new regime. Yet *The Constant Maid* is lengthened with speeches that provide helpful insights into the characters. In addition, the stage directions are made more specific and more lucid, and character names are changed in order to resonate with current events. One might assume on the basis of this that the same hand was not responsible for both, but this need not be the case. It seems likely that *The Grateful Servant* editing is earlier, possibly some years earlier than the imprint, when the Restoration was anticipated, perhaps, but not certain, when the puritanical values of the Protectorate were still the order of the day, and the Civil War was a raw and painful recent memory for the Royalists. *The Constant Maid* is a later rewrite, or possibly taken from a promptbook, in which embellished lines for actors have been added, along with accurate notes at their entrances and exits. This could feasibly be either a Caroline promptbook, as its title page might suggest, reflecting changes made while it was in production at the Cockpit by the Queen's Men, or an early Restoration production, possibly given at the same theatre by George Jolly's short-lived troupe. Shirley may have had a hand in the editing, but he is unlikely to have sent it to the publisher himself since he is not credited on the title page. In the next chapter I consider another Restoration revision of a Shirley play, *The Court Secret*. A manuscript of this play, which is almost certainly Shirley's own work, demonstrates both an attempt to bring the play up to date for a changed society, as *The Grateful Servant* editor does, and contains notes specifically for use in the theatre, as *Love Will Find Out the Way* seems to. What do these two sets of corrections to

the same document add to our understanding of Shirley's play on the Caroline and Restoration stages?

Section III: Metatext and Intertext

Chapter 5: *The Court Secret* in manuscript and print

James Shirley's *The Court Secret* would have been seen at the private theatre at Blackfriars in the Autumn of 1642, if the theatres had not been closed when Parliament issued its 'First Ordinance Against Stage Plays and Interludes' on 2 September that year.²⁵⁰ The play was finally staged by the King's Company at the Theatre Royal in 1664. The only evaluation of that performance comes from Samuel Pepys's diary, and is far from favourable: 'My wife says the play she saw is the worst that ever she saw in her life.'²⁵¹ The question at the heart of this chapter is why Killigrew suddenly decided to stage a piece more than twenty years old. As we have seen, Killigrew had succeeded in securing the patents for all but a small selection of pre-Civil-War plays for the King's Men.²⁵² Shirley featured prominently among playwrights whose work Killigrew staged, but by 1663, new writing had begun at first to trickle, and then to flood, onto the stage. Among these, the runaway success was Samuel Tuke's *The Adventures of Five Hours*, a translation of *Los Empenos de Seis Horas*, by Anthony Coello.²⁵³ Staged by the Duke's Company, the play ran for an unprecedented thirteen consecutive performances.²⁵⁴ Pepys saw it on the opening night and his account is glowing:

²⁵⁰ Order for the Stage Plays to Cease, 2 Sep. 1642, *Journals of the House of Lords*, vol. 5, p. 336, in *Seventeenth Century England: A Changing Culture* edited by Ann Hughes (London: Ward Lock Educational, 1983), pp. 80-1.

²⁵¹ Pepys, *Diary*, 18 August, 1664.

²⁵² See pages 22-26, above.

²⁵³ Samuel Tuke, *The Adventures of Five Hours* (London: Printed by T. N. for Henry Herringman, 1663). Tuke claimed in the preface to the 1671 reprint that it was written at the request of Charles II (sig. A2v).

²⁵⁴ *London Stage*, pp. cxxiii, clviii, clx, 60-62.

And the play, in one word, is the best, for the variety and the most excellent continuance of the plot to the very end, that ever I saw, or think ever shall, and all possible, not only to be done in the time, but in most other respects very admittable, and without one word of ribaldry; and the house, by its frequent plaudits, did show their sufficient approbation.²⁵⁵

Observing its rival's success the King's Company was quick to follow suit with Spanish-themed plays of their own. In spite of the long history of popular anti-Spanish (and related anti-Catholic) sentiment, the managers of both of London's licensed theatrical troupes clamoured to stage any play set in Spain, and derived from the Spanish 'cape and dagger' or *capa e espada* genre. The group of plays that followed in Tuke's wake has been identified as a distinct subgenre called 'Spanish romance'.

The King's Company staged *Flora's Vagaries* by Richard Rhodes in November 1663, and in November 1664 they followed up with George Digby's *Elvira or The Worst Not Always True*, Thomas Porter's *The Carnival*, and Dryden's *The Rival Ladies*.²⁵⁶ It was in this context, on 18 August 1664, that Killigrew brought *The Court Secret* onto stage for the first time, just two weeks after *The Rival Ladies*. Killigrew also revived a Spanish play of his own, based on *La Dama Duende* (*The Phantom Lady*) by Pedro Calderón de la Barca. Killigrew's version of the play, *The Parson's Wedding*, was first performed in 1641, and it resurfaced in the midst of the Spanish romance vogue, in October 1664. Davenant, equally aware of the new trend created by his production of

²⁵⁵ Pepys, *Diary*, 8 January 1663.

²⁵⁶ A Spanish source for *The Carnival* has not been identified, but John Loftis writes that it 'looks as though it is an adaptation of a Spanish play.' *Spanish Plays of Neoclassical England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973), p. 66. *Elvira* was published in 1667, *The Carnival* and *The Rival Ladies* in 1664.

Tuke's play, also staged other plays with Spanish settings and sources. As late as 1668 he staged *Tarugo's Wiles, or The Coffee House*, based on Moreto's play *No Puede ser Guardar una Mujer* (*No Holding a Woman*), but it did not match the success of *The Adventures of Five Hours*.

Adapting *The Court Secret*

The Court Secret was not entirely unknown before The King's Company staged it. Humphrey Moseley had published it during the interregnum, the last in the volume called *Six New Playes* (1653).²⁵⁷ The play also exists in a manuscript, held at Worcester College Library, Oxford (*Plays* 9.21), which is considerably different from the printed edition.²⁵⁸ The manuscript contains corrections made in three separate hands. Robert G. Howarth, who first identified the manuscript as *The Court Secret* in 1931 (it has no title and had been catalogued as 'Don Manuel'), suggests that one of those hands is Shirley's own, because it matches two known samples of his handwriting: his will and a manuscript poetry collection, now at the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS

²⁵⁷ James Shirley, *Six New Playes* (London: Printed for Humphrey Moseley, 1653). Each play in the volume has its own title page. The title page to *The Court Secret* specifies that it was 'Never acted, but prepared for the scene at Blackfriars'. It was added to the Stationers' Register by Humphrey Moseley, separately from the other five plays, on 10 September 1653. *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1640-1708*, ed. by G. E. B. Eyre and G. R. Rivington (London: Privately printed, 1915), p. 423.

²⁵⁸ R. G. Howarth, 'A Manuscript of James Shirley's *Court Secret*' *Review of English Studies* 7 (1931): 302-13. Linda Kay Ward Ellinger produced a critical edition of the play as a doctoral thesis but it was not subsequently published. 'A Critical Edition of James Shirley's *The Court Secret*', dissertation, University of Iowa, 1979. All quotations from *The Court Secret* manuscript in this chapter follow Ellinger's page, scene and line numbering. Two excerpts are available: R. G. Howarth includes the first 106 lines alongside the opening of the printed version in his article on the manuscript (Howarth, 'A Manuscript', pp. 308-13), and the 'Inductio' has been anthologised by Pierre Danchin in *The Prologues and Epilogues of the Restoration 1660-1700: A Complete Edition* (Nancy: Publications Université Nancy, 1981), pp. 196-7.

Rawlinson Poetry 88).²⁵⁹ A second set of markings, in pencil, may be the work of a prompter preparing for the stage production. In the third hand there is a prologue, titled 'the Inductio', which was inserted at the back of the manuscript and has also been corrected by the hand that looks like Shirley's.²⁶⁰ This chapter considers the relationship between Shirley's corrections to the manuscript and Killigrew's production in 1664.

There is no date on the Worcester College manuscript and no evidence has been found that establishes a date conclusively. No clear progression from manuscript to print is discernible. Howarth suggests that the players used the manuscript draft for their production instead of the later print version, citing Moseley's letter to Sir Henry Herbert on 30 August 1660, requesting that actors be prevented from performing 'Playes that doe belong to mee without my Knowledge and Consent'.²⁶¹ Howarth argues that Shirley would be unlikely to 'neglect his own interests' and the possibility of selling the acting rights to his play to the company he favoured, and that he therefore circumvented Moseley's rights by returning to the older draft of the play and amending it, so that the players could call it 'a new play'. Howarth's chronology has been contested. Ellinger points out that if the intention was to avoid Moseley's copyright, it is strange that an alternative title was not used.²⁶² E. M. Yearling suggests an earlier date for the corrections in the manuscript. She takes them as evidence of

²⁵⁹ Howarth 'A Manuscript', p. 306.

²⁶⁰ A copy of the *Six New Playes* held in the Brotherton Collection, University of Leeds, contains a cast list added in manuscript, and additional casting is noted throughout the play at each character's entrance, in a different hand. Comparing this with the known members of the company at the time provides evidence that the play was performed by the King's Company in, or shortly before, 1664. Casts are also listed for *The Imposture* and *The Cardinal*. Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, 'Manuscript Casts for Revivals of Three Plays by Shirley in the 1660s', *Theatre Notebook* 39 (1985), 32-6.

²⁶¹ Howarth, 'A Manuscript', p. 305.

²⁶² Ellinger, 'A Critical Edition of James Shirley's *The Court Secret*', p. 19.

Shirley's editing routine, assuming that the corrections were made some time between receiving the draft based on his foul papers from the transcriber and submitting a final draft to Moseley for publication before 10 September 1653. Yearling writes that 'the history of *The Court Secret* implies that Shirley wrote rapidly through several versions'.²⁶³ However, Bentley points out that 'the variants are so numerous and so radical' that the 1653 publication cannot have been set from the Worcester manuscript.²⁶⁴ When addressed in detail, the nature of the amendments casts doubt on Yearling's hypothesis.

The revisions to the manuscript do not bring it closer to the printed version. For example, in the manuscript, Clara's name has been changed to Clarissa throughout, and also to Claudia at one point, but she is called Clara consistently in the printed version. These types of inconsistencies between the versions recur throughout the play. In several places, lines scored out in the manuscript appear in *Six New Playes*. For example, in the manuscript, the following speech of Clara's has been edited as indicated below (**bold** indicates lines that have been crossed out, *italics* denote text added in the later hand):

Cla. sir you may **spare these jealousies** *trust my obedience, I shall not*
given away my freedome, or by promise
of *wth* more then [*sic.*] may become my duty, **cherish'd** *answer*
 his courtship; though some Ladies that are offerd
 so faire would thinke it like sinne to welcome,
 the title of a princesse, but I am

²⁶³ Yearling, 'Introduction' *The Cardinal*, p. 31.

²⁶⁴ Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, vol. 5, p. 1102. Bentley dismisses both Howarth and Yearling's theories, stating that 'A professional Caroline dramatist who had written thirty to forty plays, five of them for the company for which *The Court Secret* was prepared, would not need to rewrite the majority of his lines, as in [the first] scene.' He also finds it 'unlikely' that Shirley retained any control over the acting rights to his plays, an assumption implicit in Howarth's analysis.

not ignorant, he is designed a bridegroom
 to the fairre Isabella, and it were
 saucy injustice to distract a blessing
 now hovering ore two kingdomes.

The printed version includes the phrase that is crossed out in the manuscript, though with the word 'precepts' in place of 'jealousies', and the past tense is used instead of the future:

Cla. Sir, you may spare these precepts, I have not
 Given away my freedom, or by promise
 Of more than may become my duty, offer'd
 The Prince an expectation; I am
 Not ignorant he is design'd a Bridegroom
 To the fair Isabella, and it were
 Sawcie injustice to distract a blessing
 Now hovering o'r two Kingdoms.

The editing in the manuscript must have served some other purpose than preparing the play for the press in 1653.

We are left, therefore, with three distinct versions of the play: the 1653 imprint, the original state of the manuscript (i.e. before it was amended), and the revised manuscript (taking account of the revisions in the later hands). The latter two appear in the same physical document, but the revisions are so extensive that they represent two quite different versions of the play. In this chapter, I will compare all three versions of the play. I will refer to them as the '1653 imprint', the 'original manuscript' and the 'amended manuscript'.

Samuel Tuke and the vogue for 'Spanish romance'

To understand why Killigrew selected this play for performance in 1664 and to explain the editorial choices in the manuscript, the repertoire of both companies in the 1663-4 season must be considered. The financial as well as popular success of *The Adventures of Five Hours* was game-changing. John Evelyn praised the play and noted that it 'would be worth the Comedians 4 or 5000 pounds'.²⁶⁵ This unusually high return made the company's investment in luxurious new costumes, and new scenery, financially worthwhile. Downes noted in his memoir that the actors were 'Cloath'd so Excellently Fine in proper Habits, and Acted so justly well'.²⁶⁶ The prologue deliberately points out that 'the scenes are New'.²⁶⁷ Scenery was still a novelty in early 1663 and it was usually used for more than one production. These attractions may help to explain the large crowd present in the theatre on its opening night, 8 January 1663. Pepys had been looking forward to the play and arrived early with his wife, but still found he was unable to secure a desirable seat.²⁶⁸

Comparing the stylistic features of *The Court Secret* with those of the Spanish romance plays, requires defining the distinctive qualities of the genre, and identifying plays that may confidently be included in it.²⁶⁹ Unfortunately, this is not a straightforward task, as there is comparatively little critical discussion of the genre.²⁷⁰ Loftis identifies 'distinctive formal conventions ...

²⁶⁵ John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. by E. S. de Beer (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 450.

²⁶⁶ Downes, pp. 22-3.

²⁶⁷ Tuke, *The Adventures of Five Hours*, sig. Av.

²⁶⁸ Pepys, *Diary*, vol. 4, 1663.

²⁶⁹ Hume, *The Development of English Drama*, pp. 237-47.

²⁷⁰ Maximilian Novak describes boundaries of the genre as 'somewhat fuzzy', defying easy definition: 'Hume's discussion of Tuke's *The Adventure of Five Hours* is excellent, but when he comes to speaking of individual plays the category seems to break down. How can Dryden's *An*

recognisable to contemporary audiences' in plays with Spanish settings staged after 1663.²⁷¹ But the distinction between the 'Spanish romance' and other Restoration tragicomedies, particularly those in the overlapping subgenres of intrigue comedy, romantic comedy and heroic plays, is not easy to discern.

Avery and Scouten were the first to describe Spanish plays as a distinct subgenre of Restoration theatre.²⁷² Key to their definition is that the script 'placed its emphasis upon a rigid code of conduct, had a plot filled with intrigue, and emphasized one or more high-spirited women in the *dramatis personae*.'²⁷³ Like them, Loftis finds that the plays all display a strong plot line of love intrigue. To this he adds the importance of a stern conception of personal and family honour, and that the characters' adventures are motivated by sensitivity to this code of honour.²⁷⁴ Loftis identifies 'Spanish plots' rather than 'Spanish romance' noting that such plays were frequently set in Portugal and certain parts of Italy, which were then under Spanish rule. For Loftis, the emphasis on honour as a 'complicating force' is what distinguishes the Spanish plots from other Restoration intrigue plays. He notes also that honour is often the

Evening's Love fit into the same category as Tuke's play? In the second half, he will speak of various plays as, 'Debased Spanish romance' (p. 301), 'Spanish-style mode' (p. 297), "Spanish' plays' (pp. 284, 471), 'pseudo-Spanish intrigue comedies' (p. 279), and 'lightened Spanish-style intrigue romances' (p. 270).' 'Review: *The Development of English Drama in the Late Seventeenth Century* by Robert D. Hume', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 10.4 (1977): 512-16, (p. 515).

²⁷¹ Loftis, *Spanish Plays*, p. 67.

²⁷² Van Lennep, (ed.) *The London Stage*, Introduction, p. cxxiii.

²⁷³ Loftis, *Spanish Plays*, p. 95. Avery and Scouten go on to list the following plays as falling into the same category: 'Lord Digby's *Elvira* (November 1664), Thomas Porter's *The Carnival* (ca. 1664), John Dryden's *The Rival Ladies* (June 1664), and, later, St Serfe's *Tarugo's Wiles* (5 October 1667) and Dryden's *An Evening's Love* (12 June 1668). Loftis adds *The Man's the Master*.

²⁷⁴ Loftis, *Spanish Plays*, pp. 68-9.

motivating factor in conflicts between the generations, and in rivalry between young men.

The women in these plays, though 'high-spirited', live in fear of men resorting to the sword when acting upon their sense of wounded honour and this keeps them from revealing facts that would otherwise untangle the complex intrigues of the drama.²⁷⁵ It was the duty of the men to uphold the honour of the family through decisive action (generally by sword-fighting) and thus the honour of the young female love objects in the plays is, Loftis notes, defended by their fathers and brothers, leaving little or no place for mothers. Finally, Loftis emphasises the importance of the temperate Mediterranean nights as settings for the plays.²⁷⁶ To these genre-defining elements, Loftis adds that the plays 'largely avoid conversational banter among gentlefolk, relegating it to the *graciosos* of inferior rank'. The *gracioso* character is considered in detail in the final part of this chapter.²⁷⁷ Hume identified a similar set of features and was the first to coin the term 'Spanish romance'. He also notes that these plays also adhere strictly to the unities of place, time and action.²⁷⁸

These characteristics are all evident in *The Court Secret*, and yet hitherto, the play has been entirely absent from critical discussion of Spanish romance plays, even though the debt owed by later English dramatists to Shirley's translations of Spanish plays in the 1630s, *The Young Admiral* and *The Opportunity*, is regularly acknowledged. The former was based on *Don Lope de Cardona* by Lope Felix de Vega (1562-1635), the latter on *El Castigo del*

²⁷⁵ Loftis, *Spanish Plays*, p. 70.

²⁷⁶ Loftis, *Spanish Plays*, p. 68.

²⁷⁷ Loftis, *Spanish Plays*, p. 69.

²⁷⁸ Hume, *The Development of English Drama*, p. 74.

Penséque by Gabriel Téllez (1579-1648), better known as Tirso de Molina.²⁷⁹ John Loftis has even suggested that revivals of these two plays after the Restoration helped to usher in the new genre.²⁸⁰ The likely reasons for this include the relative obscurity of *The Court Secret*, the fact that a specific Spanish source has not been identified, that it was not staged when it was composed in 1642, and Pepys's condemnation, the only known 'review' of the eventual 1664 performance. In what follows I shall stake out a place for *The Court Secret* within future discourse on the Spanish romance genre that emerged after 1663.

Shirley and Spanish drama

The Opportunity may have been among the very first plays revived by the new companies at the close of the Interregnum, possibly staged by the Red Bull Players in 1659, before the theatres were officially reopened.²⁸¹ It might also have been used by a group of itinerant English players performing in Germany during the interregnum.²⁸² Jorge Braga Riera argues that Shirley's work 'anticipated strategies and techniques that would become commonplace in the adaptations other translators made of Spanish comedies during the Restoration', making Shirley a particularly significant translator.²⁸³ Shirley was among the earliest English playwrights to borrow from Spanish drama.²⁸⁴ Earlier dramatists had made regular use of other genres of Spanish literature

²⁷⁹ James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *A New History of Spanish Literature* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1926), pp. 305, 315.

²⁸⁰ John Loftis, *Spanish Plays*, p. 65.

²⁸¹ *The Opportunity: A Critical Modern-Spelling Edition* ed. by Mary J. Mekemson, (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1991), p. 6.

²⁸² Jorge Braga Riera, *Classical Spanish Drama in Restoration English (1660-1700)* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamin Publishing Company, 2009), p. 48.

²⁸³ Braga Riera, *Classical Spanish Drama*, p. 45.

²⁸⁴ Loftis, *Spanish Plays*, p. 25.

as sources, but examples of the use of Spanish *plays* before Shirley are rare. Further Spanish influence has been postulated by Arthur Stiefel, who first identified the Spanish sources for *The Young Admiral* and *The Opportunity*. Stiefel claims – tantalisingly – that there is a Spanish source for *The Wedding*, but he does not name it.²⁸⁵ He also suggests that there may be as-yet-unidentified Spanish sources for *The Humorous Courtier*, *The Example*, and *The Royal Master*.²⁸⁶

The long history of tension between England and Spain nurtured a mentality of hostility that remained pervasive among the lower classes throughout the Caroline period, entrenched from the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, and fuelled by the disastrous failed marriage negotiations between Prince Charles (later Charles I) and the Spanish Infanta Maria. However, particularly among the English courtly elite, attitudes toward Spain were significantly warmer after the Restoration. The Protectorate was hostile to Spain, and this made the Spanish king, Philip IV, a natural ally of the exiled Royal court. From 1655 onwards, the Spanish lent financial support and committed themselves to providing military aid to Charles Stuart (later Charles II). In March 1656 Charles entered talks in Brussels with King Philip's viceroy in the Spanish Netherlands, which culminated in an alliance. Charles promised to assist the Spanish in recovering Portugal (which had been fighting for its independence since 1640), to restore Jamaica and Dunkirk to Spain, and to end laws penalising Catholics in England, in return for a pension during his exile and a promise of 6000 troops with which to invade England. Charles moved his court to Bruges, in the Spanish Netherlands, that year, and during this period, cultural exchanges between the English and Spanish flourished. Many

²⁸⁵ A. L. Stiefel, 'Die Nachahmung Spanischer komödien in England unter den ersten Stuarts' *Romanische Forschungen* 5 (1890), pp. 193-220, quoted in Flavin, *The Wedding*, pp. 20-21.

²⁸⁶ Notable scholars, including Bentley, have accepted Stiefel's argument and assumed that he 'probably did have evidence'. *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, p. 1165.

prominent supporters of the Royal cause were Spanish speakers, including the politician Sir George Digby, second Earl of Bristol, who had been raised in Spain for the first twelve years of his life, while his father was ambassador there in the Jacobean period.

After the Restoration, as Clyde Grose puts it: 'In the general reaction against all things Cromwellian, Spain gained in popularity.'²⁸⁷ The cooling of hostilities facilitated travel to Spain for wealthy Englishmen, which had been virtually impossible during the wars of 1585-1604, 1624-1630 and 1654-1660. In spite of political hostilities, cultural exchanges between the European countries at court and among the nobility increased throughout the seventeenth century. Charles II ended the Protectorate's war with Spain immediately upon his return, but, as R. A. Stradling points out, 'in circumstances which were rather anomalous. No negotiations took place, and no peace treaty was signed. Instead, a blanket proclamation of peace was somewhat vaguely agreed to by both sides'.²⁸⁸ Stradling argues that his association with the Catholic King of Spain, who had supported him during his exile but had not, in the end, assisted with his Restoration, embarrassed Charles. Within a year, Charles turned his back on Spain, and began negotiations to form an alliance with Portugal. Charles reneged on his promises to restore Dunkirk and Jamaica to Spain, and instead hoped to gain Tangiers and Bombay from the Portuguese, along with a large dowry. The marriage of Charles II to the Portuguese Princess, Catherine of Braganza, in April 1662, caused alarm in Spain, where the strengthening of the Portuguese state by an alliance with England was not viewed favourably.

²⁸⁷ Clyde L. Grose, 'Anglo-Portuguese Marriage of 1662', *Hispanic American Historical Review* 10.3 (1930), 313-52, p. 331.

²⁸⁸ R. A. Stradling, 'Spanish Conspiracy in England, 1661-1663' *English Historical Review* 87 (1972), 269-86, p. 270.

This did not lead, however, to a breakdown in communication between England and Spain, because of the tactics employed by Spain to try to prevent the match. The Spanish Ambassador, Baron de Batteville, integrated himself with prominent Catholics at the English court (including Digby) and used methods of persuasion, rather than force, thereby increasing the contact between the two nations and therefore the potential for sharing literary and theatrical styles. The Spanish Ambassador's tactics to derail the marriage ranged from threats of war, which frightened the English who had an interest in trade, to vilifying the Portuguese Princess (including a prescient claim that she would be unable to produce children) and offering a dowry at least as great as Catherine's for any bride of Spain's choosing, even including Protestants. The Portuguese alliance was not without its difficulties: the promised dowry was never paid in full, but by the time it was discovered that Catherine would be arriving in England with less than half of the agreed sum, the marriage was expected to go ahead, and partly thanks to Catherine's own pleading, it did.

In *The Young Admiral*, Shirley moves the action from Aragon, as it is in the Spanish original, to Naples; he changes Spanish names to Italian ones; he removes references to Spanish historical figures found in the Spanish version; and he uses blank verse to bring it closer to English dramatic style.²⁸⁹ He also sets *The Opportunity* in Italy, not Spain as in the source-play, and alters the final act to 'Anglicise' the hero's moral code, 'creating a comedy that reflects social concerns, most obviously in the emphasis he gives to the relationship between social hierarchy and social stability'.²⁹⁰ It is plausible that the same was done with *The Court Secret*. The Spanish setting is less significant in the original manuscript than the amended manuscript, and it is muted further in the version printed in 1653, the year before the outbreak of renewed war between

²⁸⁹ Braga Riera, *Classical Spanish Drama*, p. 46.

²⁹⁰ Mekemson (ed.), *The Opportunity*, p. 47. Mekemson discusses the alterations Shirley made to the source play at length in her introduction to *The Opportunity*, pp. 18-46.

the two countries. This may provide an explanation for the play's existence in three such different versions.

The 1653 imprint of *The Court Secret* is the version that presents Spain in the most negative light, as a licentious and morally corrupt place. The Spanish court is discussed in the first scene when Manuel, the play's hero, who has recently returned from Portugal, is asked: 'How do you like the Spanish court?' In the dialogue that follows, the corrupt machinations of the King of Spain's brother, Roderigo, are discussed. This seems to invite the reader to judge the Spanish court. In the same scene, an unnamed Lord says: 'we are used to freedom here', in response to Manuel's shock that the Prince of Spain is going to see 'his mistress', despite his betrothal to a Portuguese Princess. In the manuscript, the alleged mistress, the virtuous Clara, confesses to her father that prince Carlo 'hath made frequent visits' to her. This is missing from the 1653 version, perhaps because receiving even innocent visits would cast too much of a shadow over the character of the spotlessly virginal heroine in the estimation of a reader under Cromwell's regime. This prudish editorial intervention paved the way for the Restoration editions we saw in the previous two chapters, and is echoed in the promptbooks discussed in chapters eight and nine.

A 'resolutely confusing' plot

The Court Secret has been noted as one of Shirley's most complex plots, and this has been viewed as both a mark of the playwright's skill, and a failing, in what little critical appraisal of the play there is. Nason considers the way that Shirley allows the audience to know that an important secret could be revealed at any moment, but maintains suspense by not revealing it until the very end to be proof of Shirley's skill: 'Perhaps it is in this very combination of suspense and of surprise as methods of holding interest to the end, that Shirley, in *The Court*

Secret, shows his great mastery'.²⁹¹ He is less positive in his assessment of Shirley's construction of his characters, however, suggesting that in this play characterisation 'exists to tell the story, not to make it'.²⁹² Dale B. J. Randall is not at all impressed by the plot of *The Court Secret*, and writes of it very critically: 'the plot is neither especially Fletcherian nor exemplary of Shirley's best. In fact, the plot is resolutely confusing.'²⁹³ The only modern editor of the play, Linda Ellinger, finds the plot of the printed version clearer and therefore, she argues, superior. The Spanish romance plays were deliberately intricate in their plotting. This does not necessarily mean that they are difficult to follow on stage, but they can be a challenging read. This may be why the plot was simplified when the play was edited for publication, when it seemed unlikely that it would ever be staged.

The plot of *The Court Secret* concerns the interwoven love triangles of six young people. Carlo, the Prince of Spain, is betrothed to the Princess of Portugal, and his sister, Maria, to the Prince of Portugal (their names, Carlo and Maria, may have been meant as a compliment to the English King and Queen). The marriage treaty is intended to effect peace between the warring countries. Unfortunately, neither the Spanish Prince nor Princess is inclined to follow through. Carlo falls for Clara, the daughter of the Duke of Mendoza, and Maria for Don Manuel, supposedly the son of an exiled Spanish nobleman, Piraquo. Manuel and Clara are, however, resistant to the royal advances, since they are in love with one another. The secret referred to by the title is that Manuel is the true Prince of Spain, who was kidnapped by Piraquo. Carlo, the supposed Prince of Spain, is actually the son of the Duke of Mendoza. Therefore, both Carlo and Maria are unwittingly courting their siblings. Of the three versions,

²⁹¹ Nason, *James Shirley*, p. 378.

²⁹² Nason, *James Shirley*, p. 379.

²⁹³ Dale Randall, *Winter Fruit: English Drama 1642-1660* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1995), p. 342.

there is more intrigue in the amended manuscript because the revelation of the secret is scored out of the first scene. In the 1653 imprint the true identities are clear from the *dramatis personae*, before the reader even begins to read the play; in the original manuscript they are revealed in the first scene, but in the amended manuscript, they are concealed until late in Act Five, moments before the end. Thus the amended manuscript follows the other Spanish romance plays in its intricate plotting.

It appears that it was not part of Shirley's original design to leave the identities of Carlo and Manuel unknown until the end. In the manuscript, Pedro and Piraquo are engaged in conversation at the same time as Carla and Mendoza, and the audience hears sections of the two conversations. We miss Pedro's disclosure, but Piraquo's response gives away the crucial piece of information:

Pir. Can this be truth, was it prince Carlo then
we tooke about us? didst thou not cosen me?
and was't my lady's art for her owne safety
to put this trick upon the Court, and so
ingeniously supply the losse[?] (MS. 1.1.168-172)

If the annotated manuscript was used as the text for the 1664 performance, the suspense was restored, since the words 'was it prince Carlo then /we tooke about us?' have been scored out. The information is given only once before Act Five, and not explained in detail, so even if the original manuscript was used, only the more astute members of the audience would understand this. Thus, the audience - at least those members of it who had not read the play when it was published - would not find out that it was Piraquo who stole the infant prince until the final act. Also, in the print version the last three lines of the above quotation are given to Pedro, revised to 'It was my Lady's art...',

which removes confusion, since it was Mendoza's wife, Pedro's employer, not Piraquo's, who switched the children.

'Summer days, drifting away, to ah, oh, the su-uh-ummer nights'

Audience suspense and intricate plotting rely on an audience that has not read the play before, of course. It also relies on their lack of concentration, if they are to forget any suspicion raised in Act One about the Prince's identity, and enjoy the reveal in Act Five. The process is helped, in *The Court Secret* as in all Spanish romance plays, by the low level of light in the indoor theatre, particularly towards the end of Act Three when candles lit at the beginning of the play would be running low. The dialogue emphasizes the night-time setting. The first lines of the original manuscript conjure for the audience a society where the evening is for socializing: 'You were wanted at Court/ last night, the revels were but dull without you' (MS. 1.1.1-2). The editor of the manuscript does not strike this line, but the 1653 imprint does not include it. We know that night falls in 4.2, when Manuel indicates that it is dusk:

the Day which smild as I came forth, and spread
faire beames about, has taken a deep melancholy,
that sits more ominous on her face then night
all darkness is less horrid than half light. (MS. 4.2.6; print, p. 53)

He refers back to his exchange of lovers' vows with Carla, which occurred at the end of Act One, calling it 'smiling day'. Later, in 4.2, Manuel says 'pray heaven this be dreame' (MS. p. 29), adding to the sense of coming night. In other references to time that feature in both versions of the manuscript but not in print, the writing reminds the audience that the events of the play are happening in roughly real time. Antonio says 'I intend these few houres an entertainment / to your highness' (MS. 3.1.8). Carlo challenges Manuel to meet

him to duel over Clara 'two hours hence' (MS. 3.3.99). When Manuel renounces his claim on Clara to allow the Prince to take his place, she points out: 'tis a strange and studied tyranny my Lord, to give me back, what you *so late* did sue for' (MS. 3.3.43-5, my italics). None of these explicit references to time appears in the printed version. While the manuscript versions insist on reminding the audience that the play adheres to the unity of time, the printed version omits most of these reminders. It is clear from the very title of Tuke's play *The Adventures of Five Hours*, that it adheres to the unity of time, and this is true of Spanish *comedia* in general. In its insistence on marking time, the manuscript versions call attention to its similarity to Spanish *comedia*, while the 1653 imprint avoids doing so.

In both plays, as in all Spanish romance plays, the playwright's decision to condense the events of the play into the space of a few hours is not merely to follow the principle of the unity of time for its own sake. Rather, it serves a crucial function: the events happen during the course of an evening, moving into night, so that the creeping darkness can create ever more opportunities for plausible mistaken identities. In *The Court Secret*, the major incident of the play (in all versions) is the duel in which Manuel unwittingly stabs Carlo, who has disguised himself as a Moor. This occurs in dusky half light, making the mistake more likely. Manuel is imprisoned for wounding Carlo, who is believed dead at this point.

High-spirited ladies

Another case of mistaken identity occurs in the manuscript, but not in print. In the manuscript, Clara enters the prison to visit Manuel wearing a veil, and he takes her for Maria. Maria is not present. In the 1653 imprint, we encounter him in conversation with Maria as the scene opens, and Clara joins them, never veiled. Manuel asks Clara to 'be the Princess' and speaks to her as if

she were Maria. It is an awkwardly-written exchange, in which Clara never fully commits to the pretence and always speaks as herself. Clara knows now that Carlo is really her brother, so when Manuel addresses her as 'Maria' and confesses to killing her 'brother', Clara can truthfully forgive him for killing her own brother. The listening Maria therefore has the opportunity to appreciate the strength of the love between Manuel and Clara, and this convinces her to give up her pursuit of Manuel. In the manuscript, Clara exhibits greater agency, since she disguises herself, and Maria has apparently less motivation to drop her pursuit of Manuel, which makes her seem a more fickle character. Thus both women might be described as more 'high spirited' in the manuscript, i.e. more in keeping with other ladies in Spanish romance plays, and arguably more interesting dramatically.

Rebecca Marshall, the best-known actress then in the company, was given extra solitary time on stage in the 1664 version of the play, since the editing hand (which is probably Killigrew's) deletes an incidental servant character named Claudia, and gives Maria an eight-line soliloquy instead. Maria's part is also altered to give it more opportunities to display a wider spectrum of emotions and a fiery temper in the amended manuscript. Marshall attracted the interest of many men in the audiences; Samuel Pepys, in particular, regularly comments on her beauty (perhaps this is part of the reason his wife could not stand the play!). Marshall's reputation was built on her portrayals of fiery, tempestuous women. In the early years after the Restoration she played Colona in John Ford's *Love's Sacrifice* (between 1661 and 1664), and she may also have played Orizia in *The Indian Queen* in January and February 1664. In the latter half of the decade, she played the Duchess Rosaura, the lead in Shirley's *The Cardinal*, and other significant roles, including the Queen of Sicily in Dryden's *Secret Love* (1667), Lyndaraxa in both parts of Dryden's *The Conquest of Granada* (1670–71), Fulvia in William Joyner's *The Roman Empress* (1670), and Calphurnia in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* (c. 1672). According to

Cheryl Wanko, she was 'primarily known for her portrayal of tempestuous, passionate women, usually in tragedies'.²⁹⁴ The additional lines are suitable to such a characterisation:

Since he can find no kindness to answer mine
I wish he would do something that I might change
my affection into anger. O that I might
revenge my love upon him as my enemy
and quit his cold reward. (MS. 3.2.130-4)

The larger role of modest, doting Clara went to Margaret Rutter (fl. 1661-c. 1680) in the 1664 production. Rutter was a member of the King's Company from as early as 27 March 1661. The fact that the name Margaret Rutter was common means that it is difficult to find further information about her, but surviving cast lists imply that she had a long and successful career.²⁹⁵ She is linked with roles including Dame Pliant in *The Alchemist*, Fiormonda in *Love's Sacrifice*, Honoria in *The Rival Ladies*, Martha in *The Scornful Lady* (Beaumont and Fletcher, 1651), a production that also featured Anne Marshall (sister of Rebecca) opposite Charles Hart. Pepys saw Rutter as Martha in *The Scornful Lady* in 1666, but her performance apparently failed to impress him:

²⁹⁴ Cheryl Wanko, 'Marshall, Rebecca (fl. 1660–1683)', *ODNB* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/67779, accessed 14 March 2011].

²⁹⁵ Highfill, Burnim, Langhans, *BDA*, volume 13, pp. 145-6. Lady in *The Elder Brother* and Mrs Mopus in *The Cheats* (which could in fact be Margaret Hughes as the role is named as Mrs Marg.). Later roles included Isabella in *Damselles a la Mode*, Rutter went on to play Olinda in *Secret Love*, Emilia in *Othello*, Mrs Crossbite in *Love in a Wood*, and Iphigene in *Brennoralt*. She continued to act with the company at Drury Lane in the 1670s, playing Old Lady Squeaminsh in *The Country Wife*, Wou'dhamore in *Psyche Debauch'd*, Lady Malory in *The Country Innocence* and Alicia in *King Edgar and Alfreda*, and Harriet in *The Man of Mode*.

Doll Common [Mrs Corey] doing Abigail most excellently, and Knipp the widow very well, and will be an excellent actor, I think. In other parts the play not so well done as used to be, by the old actors.²⁹⁶

It is not clear whether Rutter was involved in productions of *The Scornful Lady* before 1666, but *The London Stage* records five performances of the play in the 1660-61 season, and one the following year (in November 1662). It is possible that Clara was a relatively early, 'training' role for Rutter, and that she progressed to the more substantial role of Martha Fletcher's play only afterwards. Cast are unknown for the early Restoration performances, but the role is likely to have remained with a boy actor (Kynnaston, perhaps) in 1660-1 and even November 1662. Rutter appeared in another Shirley play in the 1673-74 season, as Catalina in *The Maid's Revenge* (which is discussed in more detail in chapter seven).

It is clear that in Rutter's hands, a number of other, more subtle differences were made to the role of Clara, that point to a more passionate Spanish Princess on stage in 1664 than in the 1653 imprint. For example, in 2.3, the two women discover that they are rivals for Manuel's affections. In print, Maria demonstrates much more compassion and self-restraint:

alass;
 Poor *Clara*, I must pity thee, and for that
 Love hath been between us, I'll apply
 To cure thy wound; for mine is not so desperate,

²⁹⁶ Lesko, 'Evidence on Restoration Performance', p. 52.

Though I bleed inwards, I confess, since he,
Whom I esteem most, suffers for *Maria*. (p. 26)

She shows no such pity for Clara in either version of the manuscript, only self-concern. In the speech in which Maria tries to persuade Clara to forget her claim to Manuel, in the 1653 imprint she first appeals to Clara's 'reason' asking her to 'temper' her 'murmuring' feelings. In the manuscript there is less containment of emotional excess, and her speech is more like a declaration of war: 'you are my rival then, I know not under what other name to couch this insolence'. She shows no compassion towards Clara and concludes by declaring that her rival has no hope of succeeding.

Words and phrases are subtly altered to dial down Maria's passion in the 1653 imprint, which has: 'displeasure' instead of 'anger' and 'rebel' instead of 'tyrant'. Similarly 'made him forget the Prince, and gave the affront' is replaced with 'made him so rash to affront the Prince'. Maria also has extra lines in the original manuscript, all of which are exclamations of emotion, including 'releeve me with thy Counsell, wee are lost else', and 'oh my happiness!'; and confrontational rhetorical questions: 'so brave?'. She has a particularly callous parting line in the manuscript: 'ha ha ha! cherish not that foolish dreame' (MS. 2.3.115). She makes a more dignified exit in the print, allowing Clara to have the last word. In the amended manuscript, Maria is more dramatic still: 'ruine' becomes 'death' and the exclamation: '*Oh deere Clarissa*' replaces the calmer, matter of fact 'Ile tell thee'. Clara is correspondingly more passionate in the manuscript so that the dialogue is more lively, but the change in Maria is more striking, which heightens the contrast in the two characters.

One other aspect of female characterisation is worthy of discussion here. Loftis, as we have seen, writes in his analysis of Spanish plots that 'sensitivity to punctilios among the gentlemen and fear among the ladies lest

they reveal information which could occasion duels, provide, in combination, a motive for the otherwise inexplicable silences of female characters that are so prominent as complications in the plays.²⁹⁷ In the amended manuscript, Maria's additional speech provides an even clearer instance of a woman choosing to remain silent for fear of the consequences, and an elevated sense of duty to her father and brother. Maria has fallen in love with Manuel and no longer wishes to marry the Portuguese Prince, Antonio. In the 1653 imprint, her father asks her, 'How doe you like the Prince Antonio?' (3.2, p. 42) and Maria tells her father that she would prefer not to marry Antonio, but to become a nun instead (3.2, p. 43). The King reacts angrily, and rightly surmises that Maria has another love object in mind. In the original manuscript, Maria is offered no such opportunity by the King. In the soliloquy she states: 'nor dare / I tell my father' (MS. 3.2.120-3). The amended manuscript adds:

I know not how to act. to pause is dangerous
and to proceed a boldness without safety
[...] I must resolve
but first we must attend upon the princesse. (MS. 3.2.128-135)

This demonstrates that the manuscript is much more insistent on the silence of the female characters, and their fear of self-expression, than the printed version.²⁹⁸ This makes it closer to the Spanish *comedia*, and the amended manuscript adds a speech that seems designed not only to heighten this, but to call the audience's attention to it.

These uncharacteristic silences from usually outspoken women help to complicate the plot, which, as in all Spanish romance plays, would resolve itself more quickly if the women revealed the secrets they hold. The motivation for

²⁹⁷ Loftis, *Spanish Plays*, p. 70.

²⁹⁸ Loftis, *Spanish Plays*, pp. 69-70.

these silences, as mentioned above, is the ladies' understanding of their fathers' and brothers' unwavering commitment to the code of honour, which would force them to duel to protect the reputation of the family. 'Honour' is mentioned repeatedly in all three versions of the play, and it is always at stake in the character's actions. The role of fathers and brothers as guardians of female honour in *The Court Secret* is clearer in the original manuscript than the 1653 imprint. In the first scene, when questioned on the success of Carlo's courtship of Isabella, Manuel comments that it proceeded:

so fairly it engag'd Antonio
her brother, to return with us, to trie
his fortune with Maria, whose consent
might tie the two crowns in a double chaine (MS. 1.1.57-9)

The use of the word 'engaged' here, puns on the idea that this is an engagement between the male policy makers, a political alliance rather than a love match. Isabella's reaction is not mentioned. Similarly, all Maria need do is 'consent' to the political alliance. This passage is not included in the printed version. It is recalled in a later line of Maria's: 'My father engag'd me', which subtly points to the idea that women are pawns in a political game played between the men.²⁹⁹

'Flame me no flame': Honour, reputation and marriage

The word 'honour' is notably recurrent in *The Court Secret*, and it has different connotations at various stages in the play, depending on which character is speaking. Linda Ellinger notes in her analysis of the play that the word appears more than seventy-five times in the printed version.³⁰⁰ With regard to matters of love and marriage, honour is at stake for the lovers and

²⁹⁹ This does occur in both versions (MS. 1.1.130; print 155.)

³⁰⁰ Ellinger, 'A Critical Edition of James Shirley's *The Court Secret*', pp. 66-8.

their families in terms of maintaining the social hierarchy through the negotiation of appropriate matches. Both Manuel and Clara demonstrate their keen awareness of this type of 'honour' and do not mean to rise above their stations when they unwittingly attract the affections of the Prince and Princess of Spain. In the opening scene, after Maria drops her jewel for Manuel to pick up, and refuses to take it back from him, he states:

twere an insolence
above her mercy to forgive in me.
to think she meant it grace, or I apply it
at such a distance of my blood and fortune..
... as y'are honourable,
preserve me in my humbler thoughts. (MS. 1.1.26-9)

He continues meditating on the theme in soliloquy:

I have heard the princesse scatter beames
upon me, and talke language with her eyes
sometime, such as I dare not apprehend
with safety of my selfe and honour. (MS. 1.1.76-9)

Unfortunately for Manuel, Maria's uncle, Roderigo, catches sight of the exchange between Manuel and Maria and chooses to inform Prince Carlo that Manuel has designs on his sister. At this point, the duty of fathers and brothers to ensure that ladies make appropriate marriages comes in to force. Carlo reacts with angry incredulity, 'how? my sister; be less ambitious Manuell.' (MS. 1.2.151). Manuel is entirely in accord with Carlo on this point:

I should deserve his frowne, if I had thoughts
so high to attempt my courtship there. Maria

is sacred and above me, (MS. 1.2.163-65).

The King of Spain responds with an incredulity and anger similar to Carlo's when Roderigo informs him of the same alleged affront from Manuel, calling it 'a prodigious impudence' (MS. 2.1.71). In fact, the King has only three half-lines in response to Roderigo's story, indicating his utter speechlessness at the situation, while it is left to Roderigo to explain to the audience: 'this startles him'. In fact, this is Roderigo's second attempt to rouse the King's anger at Manuel and his uncle, Piraquo. Telling the King that Piraquo had been behaving with impudence towards him does achieve the desired result, with the King stating only: 'he's worth considering', but once Roderigo claims that Manuel 'dares make Courtship to your daughter', the King is quick to act. He takes the entrance of Manuel and Antonio, the Prince of Portugal and Maria's fiancé, fighting, as evidence that Manuel has indeed paid court to Maria, and immediately orders that he be imprisoned in the castle (MS. 2.1.83).

This angry response on the part of the King is exactly the reaction that Clara's father, Mendoza, fears when he discovers that Clara has been courted by the Prince, even though she tries to assure him that Carlo has not acted improperly.

Clara: I must confess prince Carlo Sir has courted me
and hath since his returne made frequent visits;
he would seem to love me too, but with a flame
that does become his honour.

Mendoza: Flame me no flame,
unless you meane to turne our family,
and name to ashes in the kings displeasure. (MS. 1.1.115-21)

Mendoza evidently feels that it is up to him to control his daughter's response to the Prince's courtship of her, and it has already been confirmed in this play that the 'King's displeasure' could ruin a family, by Manuel's description of Piraquo's history:

Manuel: We had a Name, and family
and fortune too in Spaine, till it grew worth
the envy of some great man here, by whose arts
my father was compelled to quit his Country (MS. 1.1.39-42).

Of course, Mendoza is aware, while Clara, Carlo, and possibly the audience, are not, that there is a reason greater than the possibility of the King's anger for preventing romance between Clara and Carlo: they are brother and sister. Clara could have helped to avoid the ensuing conflict, and certainly her father's dismay, if she had revealed to him at this point that she is in love with Manuel, not Carlo. However, as is typical of the Spanish heroines described by Loftis and Hume, she keeps her own counsel. This is not altogether surprising, since at this point she and Manuel have not yet declared their love to one another.

Like Manuel, Clara is conscious of her social status and has no aspiration to rise above it through marriage, though she notes that many women would, because she is aware that during his recent visit to Portugal, Carlo became engaged to a woman of appropriate status, the Portuguese Princess, Isabella:

though some ladies that are offerd
so faire would thinke it litle sin to welcome
the title of a princesse, but I am
not ignorant, he is designed a bridegroome
to the faire Isabella, and it were
saucy injustice to distract a blessing

now hovering o're two kingdomes. (MS. 1.1.155-61)

This speech may have reminded some members of the 1664 audience of the awkward situation between Charles II and the Portuguese Princess he had married. Charles humiliated her by publicly keeping a number of mistresses, all of lower social status than Queen Catherine, in apartments in Whitehall. Most notably he forced Catherine to accept Barbara Villiers, Countess of Castlemaine, as one of her ladies in waiting, and publicly doted upon his son by a former mistress, whom he made Duke of Monmouth in February 1663, and Knight of the Garter in April the same year.³⁰¹ In the play, it is not patriotism that keeps Clara from accepting the Prince's advances, but that she is in love with Manuel, just as Manuel cannot requite Maria's love for him because he is equally enamoured of Clara. However, the importance of honour to this society is foregrounded in the play because it is the reason given by Clara to both her father and to Carlo for her lack of interest. When Carlo asks her why she is cold toward him, she says the cause is:

My justice, and the care of both our honours
I have not lost, nor can time make me forfeit
what nature and the lawes of heaven and earth
comand me to preserve, my duty sir,
what is above would tast ambition. (MS. 1.1.104-8)

In this world, the accepted code of honour in marital arrangements functions as a plausible excuse to conceal the hidden agenda of at least three characters: Manuel, Clara and Mendoza. A fourth may be added in Roderigo, who attempts

³⁰¹ Tim Harris, 'Scott [Crofts], James, duke of Monmouth and first duke of Buccleuch (1649–1685)', *ODNB* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2009) [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24879, accessed June 2011].

to elevate his own status by making an offer of marriage to Isabella as soon as he learns that Carlo is an imposter, and thus below him in social rank.

In the amended version of the manuscript, a speech is given to Maria that provides an even clearer instance of a woman choosing to remain silent out of fear of the consequences, and an elevated sense of duty to her father and brother. The speech occurs in the third act, and has been added in the margin of the manuscript.³⁰² Maria expresses her dismay at the unexpected arrival of the Portuguese Princess, and states that she does not dare to tell her father that she has fallen in love with Manuel, and no longer wishes to marry the Portuguese Prince, Antonio. In a speech added to the margin of the manuscript (MS. 3.2.128-35) Maria makes a wish that something will occur to transform her love for Manuel into hate, so that she might more willingly perform her duty and marry Antonio.

Since he can find no kindness to answer mine
I wish he would do something that might change
My affection into anger. O that I might
revenge my love upon him as my enemy
and quit his cold reward. (MS. 3.2.130-2)

This is exactly what happens in the following act. When she learns that Manuel has injured her brother in a duel, Maria finds that she can no longer love him.

The *Gracioso*

Steadfastly honourable characters like Carlo and Manuel in *The Court Secret*, and Antonio in *The Adventures of Five Hours*, are at home in serious

³⁰² The page in the manuscript containing this amendment (f. 15) is reproduced in Ellinger (ed.) *'The Court Secret,'* p. 10.

drama, and tragedy, but not comedy. Spanish romance is very much a tragicomic genre, but the comedy is not a feature of the main plot, since the characters are too serious. So serious, indeed, that they were offered as compliments to prospective patrons: in the 1663 edition of *The Adventures of Five Hours*, Tuke tells his dedicatee, Henry Howard, that Antonio was designed 'as a Copy of Your Stedy Virtue'. This feature distinguishes Shirley's Spanish romance plays from his comedies of manners, like *The Ball* and *The Witty Fair One* (discussed in chapter eight, below) in which the heightened manners of the upper classes are satirized mercilessly. The comedy in Spanish romances is the preserve of lower-status characters, in particular the buffoon, or *gracioso* serving to elevate the heroes in the estimation of the audience by comparison.

In the manuscript of *The Court Secret*, the character Pedro is much closer to the *gracioso* than his counterpart in *Six New Playes*. The *gracioso* is a stock character-type whose lineage can be traced to the zannis in *Commedia del Arte*, a popular figure in Spanish literature, but not loved by English audiences.³⁰³ There is a parallel character to Pedro in *The Adventures of Five Hours*, the cowardly servant, Diego. The original manuscript makes more of the possibilities for comedy from Pedro's character than the 1653 imprint, and the amended manuscript takes them further still. In the manuscript, at the opening of Act Four, in a scene that is excluded entirely from the printed version, Pedro torments Mendoza and the other servants. The three other servants do not appear in the print edition, and in the manuscript the names of two of them have been altered, from Julio and Jaques to Lopez and Alphonso, making them sound more Spanish, and less French. The scene opens with Pedro reflecting on the power he has over Mendoza because he knows the true Prince's identity:

these secrets are

³⁰³ John Dryden, in particular, made disparaging remarks about the character type and excluded it from his translation, *The Rival Ladies*, (Loftis, *Spanish Plays*, pp. 71-2).

an Exlent curb to ride a great man with
 and till I march to Sea, I am resolv'd
 to have my friskes and humours here, the servants
 are all at my devotion, the males
 make legs, and the females bow their bodies,
 or else I pinch 'em. (MS. 4.1.5-11)

Pedro teases the female servant, Leonora, calling her 'an ill example to the family', and threatens to 'catch [her] napping' if she does not bolt her chamber door.³⁰⁴ Leonora complains to Mendoza about Pedro's rudeness and Mendoza promises to 'take an order with him' but he is too threatened by Pedro's knowledge of his secret to do so. It is only after Pedro dares to ask for Clara as a lover that Mendoza finally acts. The other servants are tasked with leading him to the vault, where he is to be imprisoned.

Humour at Pedro's expense is enhanced in the amended manuscript by a small change to his response. In the original hand, Pedro seems to be concerned with the temperature: 'theile bury me alive, good my Lord heare me/ I grow stiffe with my cold' (MS. 4.1.155-6). The second hand amends this to make clear that Pedro is afraid: 'I grow stiffe *already wth ye imagination.*' This makes more of the other servants' decision to torment Pedro by playing on his growing fears. While the phrase 'grow stiffe' is clearly a joke about rigor mortis (and possibly also a phallic pun, if the actor so chooses) but the sense in which

³⁰⁴ The nature of this exchange is somewhat ambiguous, and is dependent on the interpretation of word 'pinch', and the phrase 'catch you napping'. The OED offers a number of definitions of the verb to 'pinch': one of which implies that Pedro might simply be making sure that the other servants do their jobs properly: 'To bring into a specified state, condition, or position by squeezing, pushing, pressing, or nipping.' If this definition is used, then 'catch you napping', implies that Pedro is merely chastising Leonora for laziness. However, the OED's fourth definition is distinctly more sinister: 'To torment, torture; to inflict bodily pain on'. This reading is the more likely, since the sexual overtone to the word 'catch' was well known.

it refers to paralysis through fear is brought to the fore in Alphonso's response, revelling in Pedro's terror:

you shall converse with honourable dust
and dead men's bones, and if the diet, which
my Lord allowes, will not be competent
you may find here and there a snake insinuate
into your company and perhaps a toade
or some such hollow bird. (MS. 4.1.161-5)

As the scene ends Pedro exclaims: 'this is worse than hanging' (MS. 4.1.166) as he is led away. This amendment to the manuscript makes Pedro more like Diego, who famously lacks valour. Diego's cowardice is referred to several times during the play, and he admits it openly.

In one of the most memorable moments in *The Adventures of Five Hours*, in Act Three, Diego hides in a tree to avoid becoming involved in a fight. When the hero, Octavio, hears his friend Antonio fighting in a garden, beyond a high wall, he climbs the nearest tree to enable him get into the garden to assist, without hesitation. Diego climbs the same tree, but remains in it to avoid danger, explaining as he does:

Yet I'll up too; the hazards not in climbing,
Here I will so, and out of dangers reach,
Expect the issue. (3.1, p. 26)

The deliberate introduction of cowardliness to Pedro, increasing his similarity to Diego, fits the pattern of evidence suggesting that the amendments to the manuscript were made after *The Adventures of Five Hours* was performed, in preparation for the 1664 production of *The Court Secret*.

Further small amendments in the manuscript bring the character of Pedro even closer to Diego by hinting at his cowardice. In Act One, Pedro threatens to reveal that Piraquo kidnapped the infant Prince to the King, in order to force Piraquo to reinstate him as his heir. In the first hand, Pedro's threat is phrased 'if your lordship slight me thus, I may find wayes to undoe my selfe' (MS. 1.1.146-7) implying that he is malicious enough to act out of spite towards Piraquo, even if he is also punished in the process. The amended manuscript has this line adjusted to: 'if your lordship slight me thus, I may find ways *to my own safty*.' Here Pedro is aiming only to preserve himself, not to spite others; he is cowardly, not vengeful. Another slight amendment in this scene also seems to reduce the seriousness of the threat to the other characters posed by Pedro's knowledge of the secret. In the original manuscript, and in the printed version, Mendoza considers murdering Pedro for the sake of ensuring his silence:

I could soone purge him with a fig, but that
were impious, and course wages for a servant. (MS. 1.1.205-6)

The reference to a poisoned fig as an underhand means of killing an obnoxious person was a common figure of speech in this period.³⁰⁵ The printed version has the broadly similar line: 'I could soon purge him with a Fig, but that's / Not honest' (1.1.169-70). The second hand in the manuscript crosses out the line, so that Mendoza's speech ends 'I am not safe to be at his devotion'. Without the threat to Pedro's life, this speech sets up the characters for the comedy in the later scenes as Mendoza becomes increasingly terrified of upsetting his own servant. In the manuscript, Mendoza expresses some regret that he never did arrange for Pedro's murder, when he learns that Pedro has escaped from the vault:

³⁰⁵ Ellinger (ed.), *The Court Secret*, p. 212.

Men: Is he crept out of his coffin? let him come
 the knave has done his worst, I should have buried him
 * seven yeares agoe indeed this tongue had then been rotten Exit
 what make you here sirra? * *Enter Pedro* (MS. 5.2.6-9)

Pedro's entrance in this scene is marked by the second hand, just after Mendoza utters the words 'I should have buried him'. This suggests that in the amended manuscript version, Pedro does not hear Mendoza wish for his death. In the original manuscript, Pedro acknowledges to the audience in an aside that he will revenge himself on Mendoza – whether for this or for locking him in the vault he does not say, presumably for both – by falsely reporting the death of Julio:

Pe: I must have a litle revenge upon him
 for the Limbers prison he confined me to ...
 I am a rogue for this, but I cannot helpe it,
 my humours almost spent. (MS. 5.2.24-8)

The second hand crosses out these lines. Without this revealing aside, the audience is given no reason to suppose that Pedro is aware that Julio is not dead, he therefore appears to be mistaken, not deliberately malicious. Again, this reduces the viciousness of Pedro's character, he is a humorist and a parody of the real villain of the play (Roderigo, the King's brother) rather than a villain himself as he becomes in the printed version.

Pedro's sins against decorum throw the society's expectations of proper behaviour into sharp relief. There is more evidence of this in the manuscript version than in the printed edition. Even before Pedro disgraces himself, as we have seen above, by threatening and taunting his employer, Mendoza,

attempting to blackmail his kinsman, Piraquo, and acting abusively towards other servants, Pedro is established as a dishonourable character through his inattention to social convention. Manuel chastises him for not paying his respects to him and Piraquo when they first arrived in Spain:

such a tie upon our blood, might have
enclin'd you to bestow a visit on us
since we arrived. (MS. 1.1.98-100)

Manuel is himself chastised by Carlo, and by Maria, in the same scene, for a similar slight, i.e., absenting himself. In the opening line of the manuscript, quoted above, Maria tells Manuel that he was missed the night before. Carlo also tells Manuel that he expects to see more of him:

You are become a man of mighty business.
or I have lost the interest of your friendship
since we left Portugal ...
Manuell, let me see you oftner (MS. 1.1.63-65, 71).

Manuel's deferential responses to Carlo: 'You oblige the obedience of your creatures' (MS. 1.1.68) and 'your highnesse infinitely honours me' (MS. 1.1.71), contrast with Pedro's impertinent self-defence: 'I shall acquit myself / if he vouchsafe to heare me Sir in private' (MS. 1.1.101-2). This is a precursor to his attempt to blackmail Piraquo:

you thought me of your blood sir, when you promis'd
I should be your heire, I did a service for't
deserves your memory, not contempt my Lord...
to my danger I may say, I did
the feat as you desired, you know I did,

and tis my wonder, what was then projected
 to make conditions for your safe returne;
 had not been worth your use these many yeares.' (MS. 1.1.125-7, 136-40)

While it seems that Maria and Carlo chastise Manuel because he has proven to be good company and they desire to spend more time with him, Pedro has been deliberately remiss in his duty to his family because of his self-serving agenda. The contrast establishes Manuel as the hero, and Pedro as a part of the comic subplot. Pedro describes himself as 'a poore kinsman of yours', i.e. as too low in status and without proper manners to be a part of the main plot.

Pedro is not only the disrespectful opposite of Manuel, whose inheritance from Piraquo he would like to claim; he also functions as a parody of Roderigo. Both attempt to extort money from Piraquo, claiming credit for his 'safe returne' to Spain. Pedro alludes to the fact that it was he who kidnapped the infant Prince, whom Piraquo had hoped to use as a bartering chip to make the King allow him back from his exile in Portugal, and threatens to reveal the secret to the King. Moments after Piraquo resolves the dispute with Pedro, a gentleman enters announcing that 'the Duke Roderigo my Lord desires / your conference in the Gessamine walke' (MS. 1.1.181). In their conversation, Roderigo claims that he persuaded the King to forgive Piraquo and allow him to return, though in fact it was Carlo who did that, out of friendship to Manuel. Both Pedro and Roderigo call Piraquo's attention to promises made while he was in exile - Pedro's verbal, Roderigo's in a letter, which he produces. In both cases, Piraquo is able simply to point out that his promise was made in anticipation of assistance with his restoration to Spain, which in the event was not given by any person besides Carlo. Piraquo maintains his loyalty to Carlo by refusing to dilute the credit he is owed by paying any other party for the same deed. Both Pedro and Roderigo immediately threaten to reveal Piraquo's secret

to the Prince and King respectively. Pedro is slightly more successful than Roderigo, in that Piraquo promises to think about how to reward him suitably, and he does ultimately become Piraquo's heir. Since Pedro is more clearly part of his own comic subplot, which parodies the main plot, it seems appropriate that he is rewarded, rather than punished at the end of the play. Since Roderigo is the villain of the serious main plot, poetic justice requires that none of his schemes benefit him. The comic aspect of Pedro's plot, and the contrast between that and the serious tone of the main plot is clearer in the manuscript version than in print, and thus the manuscript is closer to both Spanish romance and the Restoration genre Brown calls 'divided plot' tragicomedy.

The extensive differences between the manuscript and print versions of *The Court Secret* range from the omission of a whole scene between Pedro and the servants to changes to the structure of the plot, as well as subtle changes to phrasing and line structure, making the 1653 imprint a better text for readers than the manuscript. These changes did not suit the purpose for which Killigrew seems to have intended the production in 1664, to compete with the Duke's Company. Tuke's translation made no attempt to hide its Spanish origin, as Shirley had done with his Spanish translations in the Caroline period. Killigrew had already staged two of Shirley's Spanish translations since the Restoration, and it is quite logical that he would readily look to Shirley for another Spanish play. The manuscript version of *The Court Secret* reflects Spanish *comedia* more closely than the printed version, and some of the corrections to the manuscript bring it even closer to the Spanish style. Close attention to the similarities with Spanish plays supports the hypotheses that the manuscript is a translation or an adaptation of a Spanish original, which was then 'Anglicised' for publication during the interregnum, and that when the King's Men decided to stage it in 1664, they reverted to the original, and amended it to bring it closer still to the newly-fashionable Spanish romance plays. The next chapter considers how the addition of a prologue that made

repeated and deliberate reference to the prologue to *The Adventures of Five Hours*, and the response to it in two of Dryden's plays, helped to signal to the audience that this play was to be another in the newly-popular Spanish romance mode.

Chapter 6: Prologues and Performers

The epilogue to *Love Will Find Out the Way* reads perhaps, as an address to an audience present in the theatre despite official closure and repeated parliamentary threats and edicts:

Through many hazards, Love hath found a way
 For Friends to meet: good Omen to our Play.
 If love hath brought you hither, Gentlemen,
 And we dare promise, if you relish these,
 Our Loves shall find out other ways to please.

Those audience members who had ‘found a way’ ‘through many hazards’ to the theatre, to meet with ‘Friends’ (other dispossessed Royalists?) will not be disappointed by the brave players, who ‘dare promise’ yet more ‘ways to please’, the epilogue promises. It might be taken as a vow to put on further surreptitious performances. As the prologue and epilogue form developed in the Restoration period, it became increasingly self-aware and self-referential. The epilogue does not appear in Q1. There may be a connection with a popular song of that name which was reprinted repeatedly throughout the period, and which Hornet’s Niece sings in the second act (Q2, p. 19).³⁰⁶

The intertextual relationship between Shirley’s plays and Tuke’s, and Shirley’s continued presence on the Restoration stage perhaps helps to illuminate a metatheatrical reference in *The Adventures of Five Hours* to one of Shirley’s plays:

³⁰⁶ Printed c.1635 by [by E. Purslowe?] for F. Coules, dwelling in the Old-Baily and between 1655 and 1658 by Printed for F. Coles, J. W. T. Vere, and W. Gilbertson.

Oct. Curse on thee, *Flora!* had'st thou lost thy wits
 Not to let me know it sooner! think'st thou
 I should have tamely suffer'd them to bring me,
 Like a poor Bird shut in a Cage, t' a place,
 Where I must look for nothing but Destruction.

The Bird in a Cage was assigned to the Duke's Company after the Restoration, but this line suggests that it may have been in the King's Company's repertoire in the 1663/4 season, so that this Duke's Men's play is making a deliberate jibe. Or, Tuke may have been aware of Shirley's *ouvre* while he was writing this play. Since Shirley was the trailblazer who paved the way for Tuke to make free use of Spanish sources to craft his drama, it makes a fitting tribute.

The Inductio

The Inductio to *The Court Secret*, like most prologues in this period, has nothing to do with the play itself, and indeed it would not be possible to understand from the Inductio for which play it was written. Prologues and epilogues in the 1660s functioned as stand-alone pieces, and were often published or collected separately. It may be for this reason that the Inductio to *The Court Secret* has at some point been detached from the rest of the manuscript. The paper bears the same watermark, but the two leaves of the Inductio, which are bound at the end of the manuscript, not the beginning, are much darker than the rest of the manuscript, and have clearly been folded into quarters horizontally (not very neatly) and carried around in a pocket. They are worn at the edges where the folds have been, and the top and bottom quarters are darker than the middle sections. Howarth assumes that the Inductio was separated from the manuscript so that it could be reviewed and edited by Shirley, but there is no evidence that it was written with *The Court Secret* in

mind, and it is only assumed to have been delivered at performances because it is bound with the play.³⁰⁷

The Inductio is written for two performers, called Spectator and Prolocutor, which, though not the most usual form of prologue, was not unseen in 1664. In particular, the prologue to Dryden's *Rival Ladies*,³⁰⁸ which was first performed that year, opens with a first speaker condemning prologues:

'Tis much Desired, you Judges of the Town
Would pass a Vote to put all *Prologues* down;
For who can show me, since they first were Writ,
They e'r Converted one hard-hearted Wit?³⁰⁹

A second speaker then enters and defends prologues. The Inductio to *The Court Secret* follows a very similar pattern, though the interaction between the two characters is increased (Dryden's prologue gives the characters one long speech each, and one additional line, where Shirley's is composed of dialogue which moves rapidly back and forth, with several shared lines). Spectator echoes Dryden's first speaker, opening by asking: 'But prithee why these prologues to a play?' (p. 306) The other character, Prolocutor, answers that it is 'the fashion', and Spectator responds: 'fashion throws away/ tis old, and troublesom' (p. 306). The prologue to *The Rival Ladies* picks up on the same theme of rapidly changing fashions, using clothing as a metaphor: 'There is a Mode in Plays as

³⁰⁷ Howarth, 'A Manuscript', 1931, p 303.

³⁰⁸ Robert Hume points out in his review of Danchin's *Prologues and Epilogues* that the attribution of this prologue to Dryden is spurious and it has been left out of editions of Dryden for that reason. *Theatre Survey* 23 (1982) 120-3, p. 123. Similarly, it is not certain that Shirley wrote the Inductio to *The Court Secret*. I refer to the two prologues below as 'Dryden's' and 'Shirley's' as a convenient shorthand.

³⁰⁹ John Dryden, *The Rival Ladies*, (London: Henry Herringman, 1664), sig. a.

well as Cloaths' (sig. a). The similarities here suggest that the texts are in dialogue with one another, and thus that the Inductio to *The Court Secret* was performed at around the same time.

Prolocutor continues his defense of prologues, but Spectator is not convinced:

Pro: we must prepare
 the audience sir. Spe: for what I pray? Pro: to bear
 with any trespassse upon art or wit
 the play may be found guilty of. Spe: Twere fit
 you should correct that first. This is a feast
 rather to mock, then entertaine a guest
 to invite your friends thus solemly to eate,
 and ask forgiveness for the unsavary meate;
 Pro: But prologues sometymes have the art t' allay
 Their rage, that come resolved to kill the play.
 A preface here may worke. (*The Court Secret*, ms, p. 306)

Similarly, after 25 lines from the first speaker in the prologue to *The Rival Ladies*, a second speaker enters, interrupting the first, asking 'Would you admit/ for judges all you see within the pit?' The second speaker goes on to explain that not all of the audience members are necessarily suitable to judge the playwright, particularly those who are aspiring playwrights themselves:

All who (like him) have writ ill plays before,

For they, like Thieves condemn'd, are Hang-men made,
 To execute the Members of their Trade.
 All that are Writing now he would disown;
 But then he must Except, ev'n all the Town. (*The Rival Ladies*, sig. a(v))

In addition to rival playwrights, the second speaker adds the following to his list of those whom he would not 'admit as judges' of a play, which includes:

All Chol'rique, losing Gamesters, who in spight
 Will Damn to Day, because they lost last Night,
 All servants whom their Mistress's scorn upbraids;
 All Maudlin lovers, and all Slighted Maids:
 All who are out of Humour, or Severe;
 All, that want Wit, or hope to find it here. (*The Rival Ladies*, sig. a)

Shirley's prologue uses the same theme, and it is quite possible that the Inductio to *The Court Secret* may even be a response to Dryden's prologue. Alternatively, the prologues may both be responding to the epilogue to *The Adventures of Five Hours*, in which contempt for the views of the majority of the audience is explicitly expressed. Like the prologues to *The Rival Ladies* and *The Court Secret*, this epilogue is written for two speakers, the characters Diego and Henrique. After hearing Diego praise the play to the audience, Henrique interrupts with the following speech:

Think'st thou, Impertinent,
 That these, who know the Pangs of bringing forth
 A Living Scene, should e'r destroy this Birth.
 You ne'r can want such Writers, who aspire

To please the Judges of that Upper Tire.
 The Knowing are his Peers, and for the rest
 Of the illiterate Croud (though finely drest)
 The Author hopes, he never gave them cause
 To think, he'd waste his Time for their Applause. (*The Adventures of Five Hours*, Epilogue, p. 72)

Henrique's disparaging remarks towards the less educated members of the audience may be a sign, as Allison Gaw suggests, of the 'general class fear of loss of caste on the part of the gentleman-author', which was an issue during the period when these three plays were produced, but subsided within a decade.³¹⁰

The speakers in the prologue to *The Court Secret* also discuss the qualifications of audience members to judge, and note that more and more people are turned poets:

Pro: and do not th[ey]
 who to be thought to understand a play
 find nothing but the faults? a Prologue might
 present some method here how to judge right.
 ...Pro: But do not some by usurpation
 hold this iudiciall seate? Spe: no tis their own
 They pay fort and you share. In time some may
 turne Poets, and talk louder and not pay. (*The Court Secret*, MS, p. 307)

³¹⁰ Allison Gaw, 'Sir Samuel Tuke's Adventures of Five Hours in Relation to the "Spanish plot" and to Dryden', *Studies in English Drama*, University of Pennsylvania (1917) 1-61, p. 11.

Prolocutor's defense of prologues includes the notion that it can help to educate ill-qualified audience members in the proper way to assess a play, just as the final line of the prologue to *The Rival Ladies* suggests that the ignorant may 'find wit' in the theatre. Shirley's Spectator, however, defends the right of audience members to form their own opinions, and condemns any attempt to use a prologue to interfere in this process:

Sp: I cannot thinke that any man should be
 tied up to judge by rules that is borne free
 Prologues are bold and petulant that dare
 Prescribe to iudges what they must declare
 Upon whose censures you should rather waite
 as ye sole lords of your Drammatique fate.
 ...
 Sp: Theres no such thing as ignorant; you may spare
 distinction. all are wisemen in the Chayre.
 and many cannot erre. (*The Court Secret*, ms, pp. 306-7)

This conclusion echoes the rhetorical question at the opening of the prologue to *The Rival Ladies*: 'For who can show me, since they first were Writ/ They e'r
 Converted one hard-hearted Wit?' In turn, both are a response to the assertion in the epilogue to *The Adventures of Five Hours* that the play is 'so subtly writ/
 Men must have Wit themselves to find the Wit'.

Dryden had previously responded to the prologue to *The Adventures of Five Hours* in his play *The Wild Gallant*, which was staged in February 1663:

There is not any person here so mean,
 But he may freely judge each act and scene:

But if you bid him choose his judges, then,
 He boldly names true English gentlemen:
 For he ne'r thought a handsome garb or dress
 So great a crime, to make their judgement less.³¹¹

The prologue to *The Court Secret* thus inserts itself directly into this conversation between prologues about the fitness of audience members to judge plays that was opened by Dryden's response to Tuke in 1663.

The prologue to *The Wild Gallant* makes further allusions to *The Adventures of Five Hours*, and its Spanish origins:

But yet the greatest Mischief does remain,
 The twelfth Apartment bears the Lord of Spain;
 Whence I conclude, it is your Authors lot,
 To be indanger'd by a Spanish Plot.

(*The Wild Gallant*, 'Prologue')

This has been taken as an indication that *The Wild Gallant* is another play to have a Spanish source, though Gaw argues that it refers instead to *The Adventures of Five Hours*.³¹² *The Wild Gallant* was staged by the King's Company on 5 February 1663, less than two weeks after *The Adventures of Five Hours* ended its first run. It was performed at Court on the 23 February, and Dryden claimed that it had been written at the request of Lady Castlemaine. The

³¹¹ John Dryden, *The Wild Gallant*, (London: Henry Herringman, 1669), p. 79.

³¹² Cited by Alfred Harbage, 'Elizabethan:Restoration Palimpsest', *Modern Language Review*, 35.3 (1940) 287-319; p. 308; Gaw, 'Sir Samuel Tuke's *Adventures of Five Hours*' p. 16, n. 35.

prologue points out that the play may be influenced by Spain, but it is nevertheless an English creation:

Not, though supplied with all the wealth of Spain.
 This play is English and the growth your own;
 As such, it yields to English plays alone. (*The Wild Gallant*, prologue, as it was first acted)

Although the prologue to *The Court Secret* makes no direct reference to Spain, or to a Spanish origin for the play, it nonetheless rewards reading in the context of contemporary plays which did have Spanish settings. The Inductio was evidently much in the mode of other prologues from the 1664 period, in style, theme and tone, and is likely to have circulated separately from the play. There is also an allusion to the events of the previous decade:

tis come to passe
 wit's as high now as our late treason was
 we ha'been swinging rebels from that sin
 did our conversion to this wit begin.

(*The Court Secret*, MS, p. 307)

This, along with its similarity to contemporary prologues, helps to date the Inductio to the Restoration period. Since the corrections to the Inductio seem to be in the same hand as the corrections to the manuscript, this strongly suggests that the amendments were all made in 1663 or 1664.

As we saw in chapter five, above, there are stronger stylistic similarities to the Spanish romance plays in the undated manuscript version of *The Court Secret* than in the version published in *Six New Playes* in 1653, and the amendments and marginalia in the manuscript make the connection stronger still. The manuscript also displays a more generous presentation of the Spanish court. Thus, the subtle rewriting makes the 1653 text more appropriate to its context, in Cromwell's protectorate, on the eve of war with Spain. The original manuscript does not make the same endeavour to critique the Spanish court. In this chapter we have seen that the Inductio, added to the manuscript of *The Court Secret* was composed on paper that matches the play, and although creases on the Inductio pages indicate that it was detached and carried separately at some point, it is edited in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript. Since the Inductio was written for the 1664 revival of the play, this implies that the revisions to the play were made in the early 1660s in preparation for that performance. Thus, the Worcester College manuscript of *The Court Secret* might usefully be included in discussions of other known Restoration promptbooks.

Section IV: Page to Stage

Chapter 7: Restoration Promptbooks

Modern scholarship has not ignored seventeenth-century theatrical promptbooks. They have been discovered and described, in some cases repeatedly;³¹³ and they have been listed and catalogued, reprinted in facsimile, and digitized.³¹⁴ Facts that can be discerned have been stated; details such as the names of cast members, theatres and companies that can be inferred from obscure or cropped marginalia have been wrung out. But once the work of reconstructing a cast list, or listing pieces of scenery that must (or might) have been used has been done, what else do they reveal? Restoration promptbooks can be disappointing documents, since they lack the interesting details we find in later examples.³¹⁵ They are not the detailed records of stage business that

³¹³ See G. Blakemore Evans notes that the 'Padua Promptbooks' (an annotated copy of part of the first folio, found in the University Library at Padua), were described by an 'occasional correspondent' in the *Scotsman* (11 July, 1895), then listed by Sir Sidney Lee in the Supplement to the facsimile of the First Folio (Oxford, 1902), an account of them was published in 1932 by G. N. Giordano Orsini (*Civiltà moderna* IV (1932): 3-46), and again, apparently independently, by Leslie F. Casson ('Notes on a Shakespearean First Folio in Padua' *MLN* LI (1936): 417-423). Blakemore Evans writes 'Finally, in 1950, I "discovered" the Padua promptbooks all over again and was subsequently chagrined to find that I had been anticipated not once, but three times!' *Shakespearean Promptbooks*, p. 5.

³¹⁴ Edward A. Langhans, *Five Restoration Adaptations* (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1980) and *Restoration Promptbooks*; Blakemore Evans *Shakespearean Promptbooks*; Robert Hume and Judith Milhous, 'A 1660s Promptbook for Shirley's *Love's Cruelty*,' *Theatre Research International* 11 (1986), 1-13; Robert A. Hume, 'The Nature of the Dorset Garden Theatre,' *Theatre Notebook* 36 (1982), 99-109; Malone, *Shakespeare*; Dana G. McKinnen, 'A Description' pp. 25-28. Digitization projects include www.amdigital.co.uk/m-products/product/shakespeare-in-performance/ (accessed 13 August 2016).

³¹⁵ Leo Hughes, for example, 'concentrates almost exclusively on promptbooks for the eighteenth century proper' because 'the number of details involving staging increases sharply beyond the Restoration period, assuring a fuller picture of what went on onstage, above and below stage, and offstage'. 'Evidence from Promptbooks' in Robert D. Hume (ed.) *The London*

modern ones are: they do not give us much sense of the directors' visions for the productions; the markings are relatively few; cues to the musicians are marked with simple signals but no music is provided; an 'x' marks the spot each time actors need to ready themselves (roughly thirty lines before each entrance); and some pieces of scenery are named. The scenery itself does not survive, nor do scene plots. It is frustrating that the prompter merely named an item of scenery, and used a conventional symbol (a circle with a dot in it) to indicate the moment to signal to the scene-hands that it was time for the change, but saw no need to describe the scenery being used.³¹⁶ Similarly, there are no lighting plots, no call sheets to tell us about rehearsals, no directors' notes to give us a glimpse into the development process (as we have in, for example, the archive of the RSC production of *Hyde Park* in 1987).³¹⁷ Identification of the different hands might tell us something about theatre practice. Might, that is, if it weren't quite so problematic: as many as eight separate hands have been identified in some of the so-called 'Smock Alley' promptbooks of Shakespeare.³¹⁸ What, then, *can* we learn from a Restoration promptbook?

Theatre World 1660-1800 (Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980), 119-142, p. 121. Charles Shattuck observes: 'Promptbooks are tricky, secretive, stubborn informants. They chatter and exclaim about what we hardly need to know ... They fall blankly silent just when we most hope to be told where the actor stood or how he looked or what he did. Rarely do they give us a hint of voice or temper or histrionic manner.' *The Shakespeare Promptbooks: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Urbana, IL: Illinois University Press), p. 3. Langhans makes a similar complaint in *Restoration Promptbooks*, p. xiii.

³¹⁶ Langhans writes: 'it was not essential to have a full property list in the prompter's book; the more complete and precise property plots must have been kept elsewhere, just as were, I feel sure, details about scenery.' *Restoration Promptbooks*, p. xxiii.

³¹⁷ Directed by Barry Kyle, at the Swan Theatre. Promptbook and archives held in the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Library, Stratford-Upon-Avon, at RSC/SM/1/1987/HYD1.

³¹⁸ Blakemore Evans admits 'it is frequently hard, sometimes impossible, to assign to its proper hand each prompt-note or textual change. The difficulty becomes even greater when, under changed conditions imposed by new pens, ink, etc., one tries to identify hands in one

Edward Langhans expressed his hope that future work on promptbooks would provide evidence about:

how the acting companies treated the plays they produced. What did they add or subtract, what wishes of an author did they respect, and what did they ignore? What they did or did not do can tell us a great deal about the taste of the times and how the players, willingly or unwillingly, wittingly or unwittingly, adhered to it.³¹⁹

Do promptbooks of Shirley's plays tell us about respect for the author's wishes, 'the taste and times', and provide 'valuable information about the playhouses'? Judith Peacock suggests:

Close study of these promptbooks gives us some information about how Restoration innovations (moveable scenery, female performers and improved permanent theatres) and Restoration attitudes (explicit interest in sexual behaviour, changing male attitudes to marriage and the family) may have affected the staging and acting approaches and hence the overall approach to production.³²⁰

Peacock does not, however, go on to address any of these issues in the remainder of her chapter. My present chapter and the two following comprise a

promptbook with those appearing in other promptbooks. ... I have more frequently been forced to question the exact identification or to admit defeat.' *Shakespearean Promptbooks*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 17.

³¹⁹ Langhans, *Restoration Promptbooks*, p. xv.

³²⁰ Judith Peacock, 'Writing for the Brian and Writing for the Boards - The Producibility of Margaret Cavendish's Dramatic Texts', in *A Princely Brave Woman, Essays on Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle*, edited by Steven Clucas (London: Ashgate, 2003), 87-108, pp. 100-1.

long-overdue consideration of these questions. The section examines prompt copies of five of Shirley's plays: *The Maid's Revenge*, *The Sisters*, *Love's Cruelty*, *The Ball* and *The Witty Fair One*. With the exception of *The Witty Fair One*, they are all understood to have been staged by the King's Company. Chapters seven and eight will examine what the promptbooks tell us about elements of the plays that were thought by the theatre managers to be suitable or unsuitable for the Restoration environment, asking how the editorial markings in the promptbooks relate to the editorial interventions discussed in chapters two to four of this thesis.

Before turning to detailed case studies, this chapter connects the extant Shirley promptbooks with existing scholarship on promptbooks. It considers the importance of the promptbooks in building our picture of Shirley's activities after 1660, and of his significance to the theatrical scene in the early 1660s. It also sets the scene for the next two chapters by considering the facilities available in the theatres in which they were performed. Chapter eight will examine the *Love's Cruelty* and *The Sisters* promptbooks, and compare them with the autograph markings made by Thomas Killigrew, the manager who staged them, in printed copies of his own plays when he was preparing them for production between 1664 and 1668.³²¹ Chapter nine will compare the treatment of *The Witty Fair One* with that of *The Ball* in two promptbooks -

³²¹ Worcester College (plays 9): Thomas Killigrew, *Comedies and Tragedies* (London: Printed for Henry Herringman, 1664). Facsimiles of Killigrew's instructions were included in W. W. Greg, *English Literary Autographs 1550-1650* (Oxford, 1925). Van Lennep was the first to describe the Worcester folio, in 'Thomas Killigrew Prepares his plays for Production' in *John Quincy Adams Memorial Studies*, ed. by James G. Mc Manaway, Giles E. Dawson and Edwin E. Willoughby (Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1948), pp. 803-8. Albert Werthem describes the Brotherton promptbooks in 'Production notes for three plays by Thomas Killigrew', *Theatre Survey* 10 (1969), 105-13. Visser provides a fuller account in 'The Killigrew Folio: Private Playhouses and the Restoration Stage' *Theatre Survey* 19.2 (1978), 119-138.

bound together in the Malone Collection, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.³²² It will ask how promptbooks for the two rival companies came to survive in one volume, and will re-examine some assumptions about the practices of the two companies. The volume (Malone 253) provides an opportunity to consider the similarities and differences between the two companies' treatments of the plays.

The very existence of promptbooks for Shirley's plays is enough to challenge existing assumptions. To Milhous and Hume, 'the existence of five "full" prompt copies for his plays (of some thirteen known in all) seems disproportionate', either a 'statistical freak', or following Peter Holland's suggestion, 'an indication of rather more popularity than [Shirley] is generally assumed to have had'.³²³ Gunnar Sorelius demonstrated in 1966 that Shirley's plays made up a significant part of the early-Restoration repertoire, supporting Holland's suggestion.³²⁴ Milhous and Hume do offer another persuasive hypothesis: that the Shirley promptbooks survive because of the sudden drop in the number of productions of Shirley's plays after 1667. Langhans also suggests that most surviving promptbooks 'are for plays that did not catch the fancy of the fickle Restoration public ... many forgettable plays are represented by surviving promptbooks or printed plays with traces of prompt copy'.³²⁵ To call Shirley's plays, specifically *The Witty Fair One*, *The Ball*, *The Sisters* and *The Maid's Revenge*, 'forgettable', is justified by the data given in the tables in chapter one of this thesis with regard to the 1670s and beyond, but not the period from 1659 to 1667.³²⁶ Shirley's initial popularity on the Restoration

³²² Bodleian Library (Malone 253); James Shirley, *Six New Plays* (London: Printed for Humphrey Robinson and Humphrey Moseley, 1653).

³²³ Hume and Milhous, 'A 1660s Promptbook', p. 5. Peter Holland, *The Ornament of Action* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 245.

³²⁴ Sorelius, *Giant Race*, pp. 46, 72 and 82-4.

³²⁵ *Restoration Promptbooks*, p. xvi.

³²⁶ Pages 24-26, above.

stage then, and the rapid drop in popularity of his drama after his death, were the two factors that, in combination, ensured the survival of the 1660s prompter's copies of his plays.

This chapter asks not only how Shirley's plays were adapted for the Restoration stage, but also how transitions in theatre spaces precipitated the decline in his popularity. It identifies ways in which conventions present in his plays in the Caroline period became part of Restoration theatre practice and in so doing shaped the work of the Restoration dramatists whose work followed Shirley's onto the boards at Drury Lane. It proposes that the same elements that made Shirley's *oeuvre* an asset to the King's Company and - to a lesser but nonetheless significant extent - Duke's Company - in the 1660s made them redundant in the 1670s. Four questions need to be asked of the annotations in the Shirley promptbooks: how were the plays cut down to a suitable length for a Restoration audience? How were they adapted after the introduction of scenery? What do they record about how scripts composed with the Caroline indoor theatres in mind were adapted to fit the architectural features of the new, converted tennis-court theatres? And, what can we learn from them about the use of music and other audible effects?

Length

Killigrew's marginalia in the Worcester College promptbook give a very useful guide to the typical length of a play in this period: he writes in a note to his copyist, Miss Hancock, that both parts of *Cicilia and Clorinda* are 'short enufe with out cutting, being in all but 92 sides in the hoell and the first part but 49 sides and the seconde but 43 sides' (p. 217). Elsewhere in the same volume he tells us that a 'side', comprised '40 lines' (p. 149). Killigrew's longer plays required shortening: in the same volume, he noted that he 'cut out' 855 lines from *The Parson's Wedding* on 2 May, 1664, and on 5 May he made further

cuts, noting that a total of '1, 594 lines is now cut out'. The Shirley promptbooks were also significantly cut, in most cases. This allowed time for changes of scenery, which were spectacles in their own right in the 1660s. It also made space for ever-longer prologues and epilogues.³²⁷ The tendency of late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth-century plays was towards even shorter running times, decreasing to below two-and-a-half hours by mid-century, to make way for other forms of spectacle, such as music, dance and the use of flying equipment.³²⁸ Killigrew's promptbooks suggest that the dramatist was striving not only to reduce the overall running time of the piece, but to maintain roughly equal act length. This is likely to have been dictated by the life of the candles and the need to replace them at appropriate moments. In *The Pilgrim*, he notes that after his alterations (made on 25 May 1668), 'it remains 64 sides longe' and calculates 'This sid out / Which is – 11 sides to an act' (p. 157). In *Thomaso*, Killigrew has added pagination (apparently in order to calculate the total length of the play, since the pages are foliated continuously throughout the whole volume). He notes that 'the first act is ten sides' and then relocates the end of Act Two and beginning of Act Three by adding a note that reads, 'the 2 Act ends here' and the 'Actes are 24 sides' (p. 337). Between ten and twelve pages of forty lines, then, seems to have been the desirable act length for a Restoration play. This gives an average length of 2000 – 2400 lines in total, about a third shorter than plays of the preceding era. For perspective, *Hamlet*, Shakespeare's longest play, is 4042 lines long, with an average running time of just over four hours. The pattern in the long eighteenth century was towards shortened plays; for example, Hughes notes that David Garrick (1717-1779) cut Thomas Southerne's *Oroonoko* and *Don Sebastian* down to 2000 lines

³²⁷ Danchin, *Prologues and Epilogues*; Diana Solomon, *Prologues and Epilogues of Restoration Theater: Gender and Comedy, Performance and Print* (Newark, Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 2013), p. 3.

³²⁸ Visser, 'Scenery and Technical Design', p. 74.

each.³²⁹ Hughes describes the nature of the cuts as having ‘no single objective, except shortening’ but he does note that the targets of the editor’s pen are sexually suggestive lines in the comic subplot and ‘extravagant rhetoric among slaves’. This is remarkably similar to the nature of the cuts in both the Shirley and Killigrew promptbooks, and the alterations to Restoration editions of Shirley’s plays. Shirley and Killigrew evidently set a pattern that endured for the following half century at least.

As with the Restoration editions of Shirley’s plays, the cuts, even when made to save time or paper, are not arbitrary, and, when examined closely reveal a rationale that illuminates our picture of Restoration manners, customs and sensibilities. As with the existence of multiple editions, a promptbook marked with passages of text to be omitted provides an insight into the impact of the Civil War, Regicide and Restoration on the theatre-going public. If it was not Shirley himself, Thomas Killigrew is the most likely person responsible for the amendments, as they are in keeping with the manuscript notes on Killigrew’s own copies of his plays.

The care taken by Killigrew in his preparation of the plays he staged is clear in the Worcester College *Comedies and Tragedies*. He evidently began cutting on 2 May, and returned to the project on 5 May (or worked on it for as many as four days, though we cannot know how studiously he worked during that time). As with the Restoration editions of Shirley’s plays examined in chapters two, three and four, and the annotated manuscript of *The Court Secret* discussed in chapter five, the cuts never compromise the sense of the play, though they do make subtle but significant alterations to its tone (cutting bawdry, for example) and affecting the characterization of its protagonists. In some cases stage directions are added or made clearer, again as in the Restoration reprints of Shirley’s plays. It is not entirely certain how many

³²⁹ Hughes, ‘Evidence from promptbooks’, p. 138.

hands are at work in the volume, but it is clear that Killigrew worked on his plays over a number of years, and his hand changes over time. A note to Miss Hancock in *Cicilia and Clorinda* is signed 'Tho: Killigrew' and dated 14 February 1666, and the alterations to *The Pilgrim* are signed by Killigrew and dated 25 May 1668 (p. 157), and there are variations in some letter forms from the notes he made in *The Parson's Wedding* in August 1664. Overlapping and varying shades of ink and pencil also suggest that the plays were worked on over time. Four types of marking appear in *Claricilla*: (1) notes made by Killigrew himself and signed, in ink, for example on the flyleaf and pp. 40-1; (2) small pencil crosses and markings, usually underscoring printer's errors, for example on pp. 35, and 40-1; (3) a later hand, using darker ink than hand 1 makes corrections to hand 1, likely to be Killigrew working at a later date; (4) A fourth pen seems to have been used to make other notes, again at a later date than Killigrew's other marks, but the hand is clearly Killigrew's. The ink used is of a distinctive, light brown-orange colour. Killigrew explains, presumably for the benefit of Miss Hancock or another copyist, that a symbol in the margin (similar to an ampersand) indicates a passage that is to be omitted from the copy. The same symbol, in the same orange-brown ink, appears in the promptbook of *Love's Cruelty* in the Brotherton collection (to be discussed in chapter eight).³³⁰

There is insufficient space in this thesis to provide a full account of Killigrew's editorial work, though this would be a worthwhile undertaking in its own right. Some examples, however, are worth noting as they pertain to the Shirley promptbooks under consideration here. The case of *The Parson's Wedding* is particularly interesting, because the play was not revived before 1664, when Killigrew staged an all-female production at Bridges Street on 5 October. Pepys did not see the production, but heard about it, and was 'glad' to

³³⁰ Oddly, Milhous and Hume do not mention this symbol in their otherwise accurate and complete description of the promptbook. 'A 1660s Promptbook'.

have avoided it, after hearing ‘what a bawdy loose play this “Parson’s Wedding” is.’³³¹

The evidence in the promptbook suggests that Killigrew did try to clean up the bawdy tone of the play before it was performed. He removes passages related to sexual misbehaviour and other sins, as in the four lines cut from Wanton’s speech in the opening scene:

And for Adultery he cannot be condemn’d, though he should have the
vanity to betray himself; God forgive me for belying him so often as I
have done; the weak-chin’d slave hir’d me once to say, I was with Child
by him. (p. 75)

Here a reference to an adulterous relationship, and an illegitimate child, albeit a fabrication, is removed from the script. Similar editorial choices will be seen in Davenant’s treatment of Shakespeare in the *Law Against Lovers*, which omits mention of the illegitimate children conceived by Lucio and the ‘punke’, and Angelo and Mariana.³³² Killigrew also cuts bawdy jokes similar in tone to those Davenant omitted from his version of Shakespeare, and that are struck out of promptbooks of *The Sisters* and *Love’s Cruelty* (discussed in the next chapter). Mistress Pleasant’s less-than-pleasant line: ‘But if I had his heart-strings tied on a True-lovers know, I would firk him till he found physick in a Rope’ (p. 78) is marked to be cut. It has been noted that there is less evident bawdry, and less cynicism towards marriage expressed in Killigrew’s other dramas, including *The Prisoners* and *Claricilla*.

The final cut to the dialogue to 1.2 is also worthy of note here, because of its similarity to the editorial choices made by whoever prepared the

³³¹ Pepys, *Diary*, 11 October 1664.

³³² Discussed in chapter ten, below.

Restoration edition of *The Grateful Servant*, described in chapter three. The scene ends with a long speech in which Mistress Pleasant describes the changes she has witnessed in society:

I, I and they were happy days, Wench, when the Captain was a lean,
poor, humble thing, and the Soldier tame, and darst not come within the
City, for fear of a Constable and a Whipping-post; they know the penal
Statutes give no Quarter; Then Butt was out of countenance, and sculk'd
from Ale-house to Ale-house, and the City had no Militia but the Sheriffs-
men; In those merry days, a Bailiff trode the streets with terror, when all
the Chains in the City were rusty, but Mr. Sherriffs, when the people
knew no evil but the Constable and his Watch; (pp. 79-80)

Mistress Pleasant's reminiscence about the good old days is stripped of its final lines:

Now every Committee has as much power, and as little manners, and
examines with as much ignorance, impertinence and authority, as a
Constable in the King's key. (p. 80)

It is not entirely clear when these lines were written. The play was not published until 1664, but it was penned in the late Caroline period, and performed in 1641, as a reference to Joseph Taylor in 5.1 attests.³³³ The line presumably refers to the turbulence of the final months of the Caroline period, and the growing challenge that Parliamentary committees were presenting to Charles I. It is interesting that this line was not removed when the play was published in 1664, but was struck out from the promptbook.

³³³ J. W. Stoye, 'The Whereabouts of Thomas Killigrew, 1639–41', *Review of English Studies* 25 (1949), 245–8.

Killigrew's bias, in cutting plays down to 2000 – 2400 lines, was to remove material that might have made the play seem 'out of date', such as the reference to the power of committees. He also targeted potentially sensitive material and bawdy humour. The resultant shorter running time gave him space, as noted earlier, to incorporate longer prologues and epilogues than had been seen before the war, as we saw in the previous chapter and for time-consuming set changes.

Scenery

We can gain some understanding of how these set changes operated, thanks to the one play for which comparatively full staging records *do* exist, despite the overall general absence of stage records in 1660s prompter's notes. The play is *Guzman* by Roger Boyle, first Earl of Orrery (1621-1679), and the staging records are found in the posthumous first-printed edition of the play, which was evidently set from the prompter's copy. It was not printed until 1693, when it was brought to the press at the behest of Nahum Tate (1652-1715), long after its stage run was over. Tate describes publishing the play as a 'piece of justice to the world' in his dedication (to Boyle's grandson, Lionel, Earl of Orrery).³³⁴ The play was first staged by the Duke's Company in April 1669, at the Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre.³³⁵ The record provided by the prompter's notes, some of which were transferred into the printed edition, helps to enrich the picture of Shirley on the Restoration stage. The scenes used in the production of *Guzman* were a mixture of old and new. Two pieces of scenery are explicitly referred to by the prompter as 'new'. Firstly, the 'new flat', described as 'a Piazza, with Walks of Trees, and Houses round about it' (1.1, p. 1). This piazza scene must have been a very useful one and it is employed again

³³⁴ N. Tate, 'Dedication' in Roger Boyle, *Guzman* (London: Francis Saunders, 1693), sig. a.

³³⁵ *London Stage*, pp. 159, 160. The play is named in the Lord Chamberlain's lists, and recalled by Downes. Pepys attended a performance on 16 April 1669.

five times in this play, each time representing an outdoor public space, a favourite setting of many Renaissance plays.³³⁶ It is not clear whether the flat was designed for this production, or simply that it was relatively new to the company when the prompter marked up his copy of *Guzman*; either way, it was a sensible investment. The second 'new' scene is described as the 'new black scene'. It is used as 'Alcanzar's Astrological Cabinet' (3.1, p. 17) 'his closet painted round about with Mathematical instruments' (2.4, p. 13) the scene is used again in the final scene of the fourth act. Tim Keenan suggests that the Astrological closet would have been created as a 'relieve' scene, to be installed as a quick scene-change behind the closed front shutters while another scene was being played in front of them, and ready to be 'discovered' when it ended – no doubt to the astonishment of the audience. This happens twice in *Guzman*, according to Keenan's analysis, once during the second act, between the end of 2.1 and the beginning of 2.4. The former takes place at Guzman's house, in front of 'the scene with the chimney in it' (p. 10), while the latter is set in Alcanzar's astrological cabinet. Keenan estimates that the time available to the stagehands to complete this change was four minutes and forty-seven seconds.³³⁷ The second change of this nature happens in Act Four, after a scene set at Francisco's house, which also makes use of 'the chamber with the Chimney in't' (p. 30) and 4.8, which returns to Alcanzar's cabinet (p. 43). The 'astrological cabinet', Keenan concludes, was a relieve scene, in which the actors could be standing ready to be revealed, (i.e. already onstage when the shutters in front of them were drawn apart). This relieve scene must have been changed back to the chamber during the third act, ready for 'the chamber with the Chimney in it' to be used as Francisco's house in 4.3 (p. 30). The 'new black scene' was also probably versatile and useful in a number of other productions, including Ben

³³⁶ 3.3, p. 22; 4.1, p. 27; 4.4, p. 34; 4.7, p. 42; 5.1, p. 45.

³³⁷ Keenan, 'Scenery plot: *Guzman*' online at <https://tfkeenan.files.wordpress.com/2014/06/guzman-e1404014218976.png> [accessed 20 September 2016].

Jonson's *The Alchemist* and Christopher Marlowe's *Dr Faustus*, both of which were in the company's repertoire, and Shirley's *The Maid's Revenge*. The room belonging to 'Signior Sharkino, a shirking doctor' is described in the 1639 imprint of *The Maid's Revenge*, which was used as the Restoration prompt copy as follows:

his study, furnished with glasses, viols, pictured of wax characters, wands, conjuring habit, Powders, and Scarabeo (3.2, sig. E3v).

The Maid's Revenge was staged at the same theatre as *Guzman*, at Lincoln's Inn Fields, in the 1670s, and it is therefore likely that the company would have made use of the same piece of set. The scene in Sharkino's study is the turning point in the play, in which Catalina has sent 'her woman', Ansilva, to procure poison with which she plans to murder her sister, Berinthia, and frame the latter's suitor, Valasco. The 'black scene' would have been appropriately frightening and mysterious in the candle-light, and the colour black would have had familiar connotations, from the black drapes of the pre-war indoor theatres, and associated in the audience's minds with tragedy, preparing them for the deaths that follow.

The flats used in the intervening scenes of *Guzman*, while the rear flats were replaced, were pieces reused from other plays by the same company: 'a flat scene of a chamber' (p. 12) and 'the Queen of Hungary's chamber', so called because it was originally produced for Orrery's *Mustapha* in 1665.³³⁸ A garden scene was also recycled from one of Boyle's earlier plays, *Tryphon*, (performed at the Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre by the Duke's Company in 1668). Keenan has compiled extremely useful data on scenic requirements in all of the major

³³⁸ William S. Clark, 'Restoration Prompt Notes and Stage Practices', *Modern Language Notes* 51.4 (1939), 226-30, p. 229.

London theatres from 1662 to 1674.³³⁹ He suggests that the fact that two pieces of set had been used in productions of Boyle's earlier plays is 'unlikely to be coincidental' and might imply that Boyle was working with the company while his plays were prepared for the theatre.³⁴⁰

Four pairs of flats, then, could be made ready for use during a single act at the Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre, by sliding them back and forth along grooved runways at the back of the stage.³⁴¹ It does not follow, however, that only four stage pictures were created. The same seems to be true of the other major theatres. Langhans notes that with the exception of 'the tiny converted tennis court in Vere Street, which evidently opened with no facilities for changeable scenery', all of the Restoration playhouses are likely to have had broadly similar stage arrangements and scenic capabilities.³⁴² The so-called 'Wren sketch' of 1674, although for a theatre that was never built, is suggestive of contemporary expectations for scenery.³⁴³ The sketch shows seven grooves, grouped into three and four, creating changeable background scenery and painted flats arranged in a line along the sides of the stage to conceal the wings and create a sense of perspective with a vanishing point in the backscene. The staging plots constructed by Keenan for two King's Company productions, *The Indian Queen* (James Howard and John Dryden, first performed in January 1664, printed 1665) and *The Indian Emperor* (Dryden, first performed April 1665, printed 1667), illustrate that between acts, pieces of scenery including

³³⁹ Keenan, 'Restoration Staging', online at <https://restorationstaging.com/2014/03/25/guzman-staging/> [accessed 28 August 2016].

³⁴⁰ Keenan, 'Staging Analysis: *Guzman* (1669)', online at <https://restorationstaging.com/2014/03/25/guzman-staging/> [accessed 28 August 2016].

³⁴¹ Clark, 'Restoration Prompt Notes', p. 230.

³⁴² Langhans, *Restoration Promptbooks*, p.xvii.

³⁴³ Codrington Library, AS, II.81. Discussed by Tim Keenan in 'The Trouble With Pictures 2: The Playhouse Drawing', online at <https://restorationstaging.com/2013/11/30/the-playhouse-drawing/> [accessed November 2016]

the backscene, painted flats and side wings, were changed, allowing six and eight different locales to be created for these two plays respectively.

As well as creating several locations by interchanging flats, locations that were the setting for more than one scene were evidently adapted and varied in the same way. The promptbook notations in *Guzman* indicate that one piece of scenery could be used for more than one location (the same two pieces of scenery, 'the scene with the chimney in it' and 'the chamber', were used to represent the houses of three different characters - Guzman, Francisco and Piracco).³⁴⁴ The interior of Guzman's house was portrayed once by 'the scene with the chimney in it,' and then, on the second occasion, by 'a flat scene of a chamber'. Clarke evaluates this practice as indicating a 'tendency on the part of Restoration producers toward a more studied realism in stage setting than has generally been imagined by the theatre historians'.³⁴⁵ Shirley's plays are well suited to realist staging, concentrating as they do on the interiors of middle- and upper-class homes, gardens, public parks and the court. These settings are easily created with a degree of verisimilitude in almost any theatre. This may be one factor in both the popularity of his plays in the 1660s and their demise thereafter, when plays that provided opportunities to offer spectacle, *deus ex machina* and supernatural characters and costumes became the order of the day. Opportunities of this kind are offered in abundance in Shakespeare's canon: *Macbeth's* witches and ghosts, *Hamlet's* ghost, and *The Tempest's* storms and supernatural beings. Restoration theatre managers exploited all of these opportunities as the technical capabilities of their ever-larger theatres developed in the long eighteenth century. *Macbeth*, for example, became 'even more technical' (in Hughes's phrase) offering the discovery of apparitions, using traps and flying equipment instead of the hangings and discovery

³⁴⁴ Keenan, 'Staging Analysis: Guzman (1669)', online at <https://restorationstaging.com/2014/03/25/guzman-staging/> [accessed 28 August 2016].

³⁴⁵ Clark, 'Restoration Prompt Notes', p. 229.

space.³⁴⁶

Visser's study of Killigrew's annotations reveals that it was unusual for plays composed for the private Caroline theatres to be altered significantly for the Restoration stage, for the perfectly logical reason that 'It is unlikely that the theatre managers of the time would have designed a stage on which these plays could not easily be acted'.³⁴⁷ The Shirley promptbooks are no exception.³⁴⁸ This should not lead us to condemn Killigrew for what we might perceive as a lack of innovation.³⁴⁹ Riki Miyoshi points out that Killigrew was a 'frugal and prudent manager, who did not reinvent the wheel for each new production'.³⁵⁰ Small wonder, then, that Shirley's *oeuvre* appealed to Killigrew, since it was straightforward to stage with existing equipment, and came with built-in opportunities to make use of the theatre's potential in familiar ways. The Duke's Company is better known for its elaborate scenery than the King's, but in the case of the one Shirley play they staged before Davenant's death, *Love Tricks* or, *The School of Compliment*, no particularly spectacular scene is called

³⁴⁶ Hughes, 'Evidence from Promptbooks', p. 136; Dawn Lewcock, *Lewcock, Dawn Sir William Davenant, the Court Masque, and the English Seventeenth-Century English Stage* (Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2008), pp. 147-8.

³⁴⁷ Visser, 'The Killigrew Folio', p. 120.

³⁴⁸ An interesting exception that proves the rule is *Claricilla*, which Killigrew adapted to make use of the scenic possibilities of the theatre. Killigrew writes: 'the seane shows a grove by the seaeside with a tempel dedicated to Neptun' (V, x, 45) Other pieces of scenery added by Killigrew include a 'fine land-skip' with a cave nearby for I Bellamira 1.4. During the scene the cave in the upper stage area is revealed. Killigrew also specifies that the painted scene depicted an altar: 'That Altar must be expressed in the scene'. Visser, 'Killigrew' (1978), p. 121.

³⁴⁹ Judith Milhous claims that Killigrew 'only took a desultory interest in the company. He made grandiose plans, but did not carry them out, leaving daily operation to a committee of senior actors.' 'Company Management' in Hume (ed.) *London Theatre World 1660-1800*, pp. 1-34.

³⁵⁰ Riki Miyoshi, 'Thomas Killigrew's Early Managerial Career: Carolean Stage Rivalry in London, 1663-1668', *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research* 27.2 (2012), 13-33.

for. The only furnishings required would have been readily available to either company.

The notes in the *Love's Cruelty* promptbook call for a court, a chamber with an alcove, a chamber with a bed and closet, and 'Bellamente's house', which could have been an interior or exterior or, as Visser suggests, a flexible arrangement that might have accommodated fluidity of movement from interior to exterior spaces. The opening stage direction is a little more obscure, reading 'ch ch stands'. Interestingly, the same partial phrase, 'ch ch' also appears in the promptbook for *The Ball*. The required scenes for *The Ball* are also all standard pieces, which could have been reused from other plays: a town, a chamber and 'court'.³⁵¹ No setting is indicated at the beginning of 1.1, but this seems to be because it was trimmed off when the play was bound.³⁵²

The promptbook of *The Witty Fair One* also indicates requirement for no more than three or four pieces of scenery, some of which must have been creatively recycled to create up to five 'chamber' scenes, one of which includes a bed, others are more likely to be reception rooms inside great houses rather than bedchambers. The pivotal scene, 5.3, calls for a hearse to be brought onto stage, and this is noted by the prompter, underneath the word 'chamber' in the left-hand margin next to the beginning of the scene (sig. J2v). There are also two outdoor spaces required: a garden, and a 'town', which is used as the public space where the Tutor and Brains meet to duel (4.5, sig. H2). The scenic arrangement of *The Witty Fair One* is almost identical to the scene plot for Thomas Porter's *The Villain* (1662) provided by Tim Keenan. Keenan notes that bringing a hearse, a bed or another large piece of scenery could be achieved

³⁵¹ 'Town' in 1.1 (sig. A2), 2.1 (sig. B4), and 3.2 (sig. D4); 'Chamber' in 2.3 (1.8), (sig. c2), 3.1 (sig. D2v), 3.3 (sig. E1v), 4.2 (sig. G2) and 5.1 (sig. H3); and 'Court' in 3.4 (sig. E4), 4.1 (sig. F2v) and 4.3 (sig. G4).

³⁵² Dana G. McKinnen 'Restoration Promptbook of Shirley's *The Ball*', p. 25.

without difficulty at the Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre, where *The Villain* ran for ten days in October 1662.³⁵³ The play claims the distinction of being the first to be performed before scenery in a public theatre. The play was evidently well received, and remained a staple of the Duke's Company's repertory up to 1708.³⁵⁴ It was transferred from Lincoln's Inn Fields, a theatre that by then had begun to seem poorly-equipped and shabby, to the elaborate Dorset Garden theatre, and back again, as well as being performed at court by the United Company on 31 January 1688.³⁵⁵ The play evidently survived changes of cast over time. Pepys saw *The Villain* again in October 1667, he refused to believe that the play could be worth seeing that without Betterton in the cast, although 'I hear that Smith do act his part ... as well or better than he'.³⁵⁶ It is interesting to compare the requirements for scenery for *The Villain* with *The Witty Fair One*, and also with *The Grateful Servant*, which was in the Duke's Company repertoire in the same season in which they revived *The Villain*, in 1667: the settings used are remarkably consistent across the three plays.

Restoration producers of Shirley's plays, we have seen, had access to four settings, and, with interchangeable scenery, up to eight locations could be created. The painted scenes could be used with some variations to create the public spaces and private rooms in which the action takes place. In the case of Shirley's plays, this Restoration practice was no great leap. The indoor Caroline theatres for which he wrote his plays could accommodate variations in the painted backcloths and hangings to create appropriate environments. Mariko Ichikawa has shown that the Caroline theatres had backcloths painted with

³⁵³ Tim Keenan, 'Scene Plot for *The Villain*, online at https://restorationstaging.com/2013/11/17/the-villain/#_ftn11 [accessed 27 August 2016].

³⁵⁴ *The London Stage*, pp. 36, 56-7, 59, 60, 100, 121, 191, 251, 361, 428, 504. Pepys *Diary*, 1 Dec. 1662 and 26 December 1662, 1 January 1662/3.

³⁵⁵ Van Lennep, *London Stage*, p. 361.

³⁵⁶ Pepys, *Diary*, 24 October 1667.

classical figures, plain black backcloths, which were used in tragedy, and green backcloths with trees, shrubs and pastoral imagery painted on to them.³⁵⁷ Ichikawa also shows that they were likely to have been changed during the performance and, therefore, they created three or four variable sets, much as the painted flats did in the Restoration theatres. The use of stage curtains continued from the Caroline indoor theatres, and remained a staple feature of drama in the eighteenth century.³⁵⁸ Shirley was well-versed in the use of these cloths as part of his scenes – for example, in the scene in *The Bird in a Cage* in which Eugene and her female companions enact a short improvised performance of Jupiter's visit to Danae, they use the figures painted on the 'arras' as their audience.

The Bridges Street theatre was somewhat expanded during a period of closure owing to plague from June 1665 to November 1666, and Killigrew made alterations at that point. The stage was widened, which would have given both greater freedom of movement for the actors, and accommodated additional furniture and set pieces. In the early 1670s, the King's Company once again had the need to remove to the Lincoln's Inn Fields playhouse, while a new theatre was constructed at Drury Lane, following the fire at Bridges Street on 25 January 1671/2. Langhans suggests that the promptbook of *The Maid's Revenge* dates from this period, probably early in the 1673-4 season, on the basis of its 'paucity of scenic notes'.³⁵⁹ Certainly, the majority of the company's stock of scenery burned with the theatre. The epilogue for Thomas Shipman's *Henry the Third of France*, which was performed at the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre, the temporary residence of King's Company, after the fire, laments:

³⁵⁷ 'What Story is that Painted Upon the Cloth?': Some Descriptions of Hangings and their use on the Early-Modern Stage', *Theatre Notebook* 70.1 (2016): 2-31.

³⁵⁸ Hughes, 'Evidence from Promptbooks', p. 135.

³⁵⁹ *Restoration Promptbooks*, p. 53.

The Scenes, compos'd of Oyl and porous Firr,
 Added to th' ruine of the Theater.
 And 'twas a judgement in the Poets Phrase,
 That Plays and Play-house perisht by a blaze
 Caus'd by those gaudy Scenes, that spoil good Plays.³⁶⁰

This commentator evidently had reservations about the ubiquitous new theatrical innovation, and casts blame upon painted scenery for the literal destruction of the theatre by catching fire easily, as well as the figurative destruction of the theatre as it had been, i.e. without scenery. To establish what the effect of 'gaudy scenes' might have been on Shirley's play, the discussion below considers the scenery called for in the *Maid's Revenge* promptbook.

At the opening of *The Maid's Revenge*, the prompter has noted: 'Great Scene stands' (sig. B). What exactly the 'Great scene' was is unknown. The same phrase is used the Duke of Buckingham's *The Rehearsal*, where it seems to simply mean 'grand'. The dialogue in *The Maid's Revenge*, 1.1, indicates that Sebastian and Antonio are about to make their way to Sebastian's house, but they seem to have met in a public place, near Avero. Antonio has recently returned from traveling in Lisbon, as the opening lines make clear, where Sebastian's recommendations have ensured that he has been well treated. Sebastiano and Antonio 'Exeunt' seventy-three lines into Act One (sig. B2). The prompter has added two symbols at this point: a circle with a dot inside it, which he habitually uses as an indication of a change of scene, and a horizontal crosshatched line (marking the actor's entrance cue). There are no notes indicating what scenery may have been used, possibly because it was cropped from the right hand margin of the page. There must have been a scene change

³⁶⁰ *Henry the Third of France, stabb'd by a fryer, with the fall of the Guise a tragedy acted at the Theatre-Royal* (London: Printed by B.G. for Sam. Heyrick, 1678).

at this point, but what might the 'great scene' used in the opening moments of the play, have depicted?

A look at the other plays in the King's Company's repertoire provides a clue. The company performed Dryden's *Amboyna* at the same theatre, Lincoln's Inn Fields, in 1672, and its scenery has been analysed in detail by Keenan.³⁶¹ Dryden's play, calls for a very similar array of scenes to the ones in *The Maid's Revenge*: a wood, a prison, two bedchambers and a castle exterior. Might the term 'Great Scene' in the *Maid's Revenge* promptbook refer to the same castle exterior that was used for *Amboyna*? Dryden describes it as 'A Castle on the Sea'. This scene was positioned on one of the downstage flats, which were separated into two halves vertically so that they could be drawn apart to reveal the other scenes behind them. This is clearly described in Dryden's stage direction: 'The scene drawn, discovers Towerson asleep on a couch ... A Table by him' (3.2, p. 24). The 'castle chamber' scene must also have been painted onto flats that could be drawn apart, since at the end of 5.1 the opening stage direction instructs: 'The scene opens' (p. 51). 5.1 takes place in the castle interior and calls for 'A Table set out', large enough to seat five, with a waiters and guards surrounding them. The space at the very rear of the stage represented a prison, as a stage direction explains: 'the scene opens, and discovers the English tortur'd, the Dutch tormenting them' (p. 61). At the end of the scene, the stage direction states 'the scene close'd', i.e. two flats depicting a chamber inside the castle are brought together to conceal the prison and convert the stage world back into the Castle dining room for the closing scene (p. 61).

The Maid's Revenge follows the same basic pattern of scenes, beginning in front of the 'great scene', which as we have seen, is likely to have been a

³⁶¹ Keenan, 'Staging Analysis: *Amboyna*', <https://restorationstaging.com/author/tfkeenan/> (accessed 19 September 2016).

castle exterior. 1.2 moves the action to Gaspar di Vilenzo's house. The scene clearly takes place outside the home of Gaspar de Vilarezo, as this setting is referred to several times in the dialogue. The dialogue in the following scene (2.1) indicates that 1.2 takes place in 'the arbour'. It begins with the stage direction *Enter Gaspar de Vilarezo, and a Servant*, the two men talk privately until the Comte de Monte Nigro and Catalina enter, and Gaspar hides to eavesdrop on their conversation (sig. B2v). Berinthia and Valasco enter, initially unaware of the other characters onstage, as they are deeply engrossed in their own conversation (sig. B3). Perhaps Shirley envisaged this scene taking place in an environment similar to the one he describes in his masque, *Cupid and Death*:

The scene is changed into a pleasant Garden, a Fountain in the midst of it. Walks and Arbours, delightfully exprest, in divers places.³⁶²

While this is specific piece of scenery is unlikely to have survived for use at Lincoln's Inn Fields in the 1670s, it is indicative of the type of setting that Shirley might have thought suitable, in particular, the division of the setting into walks and arbours, so that a number of conversations be seen taking place simultaneously.

Gaspar de Vilenzo re-enters with Sebastino and Antonio and the scene concludes with Vilarezo inviting all of the assembled characters inside: 'Come let us in, my house spreads to receive you' (sig. C). It is interesting that this particular phrase should be used in a 1639 imprint, since it invites a reading as a cue for the two sides of the painted backscene to be pulled apart to reveal an interior scene behind them. This could have been done in the King's Company production, but no prompter's note to blow for a change of scene is evident in

³⁶² James Shirley, *Cupid and Death: A Private Entertainment Represented with Scenes and Music* (London: Printed for John Crooke and John Playford, 1659), p. 15.

the promptbook. It may have been cropped from the page, or, if the scenes were to be pulled apart in their grooves, but not taken off and replaced, this may have been a simple enough an operation that it did not warrant a blow on the whistle.³⁶³ The line 'my house spreads to receive you' cannot have been meant by Shirley as a literal spreading of the stage set, since the technology was not available in the theatre for which he wrote the play (the Phoenix, in Drury Lane), but it may have instructed the actors to exit through the stage door that was to represent the entrance to Gaspar's house, as if moving from the garden to the inside of the house. Following Caroline conventions, the characters would then re-enter through the same door, remaining in the Arbour in Gaspar's garden until the end of the act. The set change at that point is clearly marked by two prompter's markings 'act ready' (sig. c2) and 'Ring' (sig. c2v). Killigrew's use of doors was, as we have seen Visser argue of his conception of interior and exterior spaces, a direct evolution from the Caroline private playhouses.³⁶⁴ Conventions established in the private playhouses in the Jacobean and Caroline periods regarding the use of the stage doors to represent either the interior or exterior of a house were continued in early-Restoration drama.³⁶⁵ The functions of the proscenium walls, balcony and discovery space were also carried forward into the Restoration from pre-war theatre, as Visser demonstrates.

The second act of *The Maid's Revenge* begins with a scene between Catalina and her maid, Ansilva, that is more intimate in the content of its

³⁶³ The mark in the Langhans's facsimile of the prompter's book in that part of the page is the shadow of crosshatched line, used to signify character entrances, bleeding through from the page overleaf (*Restoration Promptbooks*, p. 203).

³⁶⁴ Visser, 'Killigrew', p. 127.

³⁶⁵ 'The Restoration stage, it is clear from Killigrew's folio, is not a new starting point for the English theatre; it merely elaborates upon the earlier private playhouse, combining with it the arrangement of wings and back-shutters evolved by Inigo Jones for the court masque.' Visser, 'Killigrew', p. 136.

dialogue than the previous scene. Catalina asks Ansilva her opinion of Don Antonio, and the two talk of openly about their affections and the nature of love. After the entrance of Diego, with a message for Catalina from Antonio which prompts her exit, the conversation turns even more intimate, when Diego offers Ansilva a kiss, and she tells him 'Yare very welcome, by my virginity.' Left alone, onstage briefly, Diego wonders 'yare very welcome by my virginity; was she afraid of breaking, it may be she is crack'd already'. The scene begins to fill when Castabella reenters with Antonio (her suitor) and Berinthia (her sister). When Gaspar, the girls' father, enters with Sebastiano, Count and Valasco, Catalina is quick to point out to her father 'My Lord Antonio means to take his leave' (sig. C4v), perhaps suggesting that Antonio is in too private a space inside the castle to be long in the company of respectable young women.

The following scene is a private conversation between Catalina and Valasco, in which she tells him of her suspicion that Antonio and Berinthia are in love with one another. She instructs him:

You shall discover to my Father,
 She promised you her love, be confident
 To say you did exchange faith to her; this alone
 May change assure her, and if not I hav't:
 Steale her away. (sig. D2v)

These illicit words, like the open expressions of feeling that precede them, suggest a private, secluded space within Gaspar's house or gardens. 2.3 takes us back to the reception room in which 1.2 took place, as Antonio's sister, Castabella arrives from Lisbon. Castabella, who is new to the goings-on the audience has witnessed so far, is invited not only further into the house at the end of the scene, but into the secrets concealed within: 'Come *Castabella*, and

prepare to heare/ A story not of length but worth your care' (sig. D3v). The prompter's mark that signals a change of scene, a dot inside a circle, appears twice in Act Two, once at the entrance of Castabella and Villandras, and again when the characters onstage 'exeunt' seventy-three lines later. The first of these is an unusual instance in which the dot is inside two concentric circles. The second has been partially cropped, but would appear to have been just one circle.³⁶⁶

The concluding scene to Act Two seems to return us to a more private part of Gaspar's house. Gaspar rages, having heard of his daughter's alleged engagement to Valasco. The latter tries unsuccessfully to plead his case to the irate older man, but Catalina tells him:

Retire your self, this passion must have way
 This workes as I would have it, feare nothing sir
 Obscure. (sig. D4)

Catalina's secret, her plot, is made literal in the concealed body of the actor playing Valasco, of whose presence the audience are aware but the other characters are not. Gaspar leaves the stage in search of him. When Valasco emerges from hiding, he has become Catalina's pawn. She sends him 'away', promising 'I am not inconstant...expect ere long / To heare what you desire' (sig. D4v). Catalina closes the act with a soliloquy in which she revels in her secret power and agency:

³⁶⁶ Langhans writes 'the significance of the double circle is not clear. Since the machinist seems to have been responsible for the few descriptions of settings in the copy, perhaps someone else – one unfamiliar with the shift cue symbol – drew the circles'. *Restoration Promptbooks*, p. 209.

Berinthia, y'are my prisoner, at my leisure
 Ile study on your fate, I cannot be
 Friend to my selfe, when I am kind to thee.'

The progression of the plot towards an ever more complex web of intrigue, suspicion and dissembling is mirrored in the movement of the action between public and private spaces, between outdoor spaces such as arbours – where multiple conversations can happen at once, but are easily overheard – via the anterooms of the house – where guests are greeted and welcomed – to the secluded spaces, where passions are unleashed, plans are laid and secrets are concealed.

The third act continues to explore this interplay between public and private, open and concealed spaces. The act begins in a 'gallery', in which Berinthia tells Ansilva 'I breathe but too much aire'. Ansilva has been made Berinthia's keeper, now that her father is aware of her alleged loss of virginity, 'she must be lockt up' (sig. E). Ansilva then has Diego hide himself 'behinde this cloth', explaining 'I would loath shee should see us here together' (sig. E-Ev). Valasco enters the room via the 'back stairs', and together he and Catalina plot to abduct Berinthia, 'after midnight when soft sleepe hath charm'd / All senses.' As in *Amboyna*, the danger will approach Berinthia from the outdoor space:

enter the Garden gate.
 Which shall be open for you, to know her chamber
 A candle shall direct you in the Window (sig. E2v)

Berinthia, in a staging choice that pointedly contrasts her with her sister, appears on the balcony, above the stage, when Diego tells her that he overheard the plot. The balcony has long associations with angels, the divine, and innocent, but also, as in *Richard II*, with people in high places who are

about to be toppled. The counter-plot now emerges, like Diego, from a hidden space, even more private than the chamber in which Catalina and Valasco made their plan, and more private than Catalina's moment of solitude during which she reveals to the audience that she plans to double-cross Valasco.

Judith Peacock makes use of the promptbook of *The Maid's Revenge* in her argument that, contrary to assumptions, Margaret Cavendish's plays are perfectly stageable, and that a Restoration theatre manager would have had no difficulty in editing them to make them stageable. She gives several long passages from Act 1, showing the extensive cropping indicated by the promptbook's markings, in order to demonstrate that 'unwieldy texts presented no problem to management intending to stage a particular play'. Peacock's analysis does not elaborate on the extent to which either Shirley's or Cavendish's plays were really 'unwieldy', and therefore arrives at the misleading conclusion that

Cavendish's texts would have been handled in much the same way as Shirley's or Behn's by the management prepared to attempt a performance of any of her plays. These factors strongly suggest that subject matter was the real obstacle to a staging of her texts.³⁶⁷

In fact, Cavendish's plays may have been significantly more difficult to stage than *The Maid's Revenge*. The Duchess of Newcastle herself asserted, in the 'general prologue to all my plays', published with her collected plays in 1662, that she did not have the education and skill-set of the playwrights she admired. She writes:

But noble readers do not think my plays
Are such as have been write in former days (sig. A7v)

³⁶⁷ Peacock, 'Writing', p. 104.

Inexperience in the conventions of the professional theatre are everywhere in her folio of plays.

Peacock's assumption emerges from the fact that it is not part of her project to address the nature of the cuts in significant detail. Following Langhans, she suggests that the 'flowery passages' in *The Maid's Revenge* were cut in order to shorten the running time of the piece, and she concludes that the promptbook indicates 'that dramatic priorities were clarity, action and plot. This would appear to be a standard treatment of a text in order to make it producible, given the constraints of professional theatre in the 1660s and 1670s'.³⁶⁸ Langhans points out, but Peacock does not note, that the cuts were not made in the same hand as the prompter's notes, i.e. they may not have been made in the theatre at all. They are not likely to have been made by Shirley since the conjectured date of this performance was 1670s, but they may not have been made by someone in the theatre company, and they are not practical or theatrical in nature.³⁶⁹

The Theatre Space: Size Matters

There was an unsettled period for theatre managers following the Restoration, when, within the space of under a decade, each company moved several times between theatres that had existed before the war, with greater and lesser degrees of alteration. The Red Bull was used briefly by the players in 1659-1660 before the membership and theatres of the two patent companies

³⁶⁸ Peacock, 'Writing', p. 101.

³⁶⁹ Peacock's article is supported with reference to one modern production of one of Cavendish's plays (*The Sociable Companions, or The Female Wits* in 1995 at the Canal Cafe Theatre, London, which 'ran for 4 weeks to capacity houses and broke the theatre's box office record') and quoting from one review. 'Writing', p. 103.

was settled. Shirley's *The Traitor* and *The Wedding* were staged there in this period. The theatre at Lincoln's Inn Fields was home to the Duke's Company when they played Shirley's *The Grateful Servant* in the season 1661/2. The King's Company also made use of the Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre, playing *The Constant Maid* there in 1661/2. The Duke's Company continued playing at Lincoln's Inn Fields until 1671, when their extravagant Dorset Garden playhouse opened. The King's Company, meanwhile, played mainly at the theatre at Vere Street until opening the Theatre Royal on 7 May 1663. The Theatre Royal was destroyed by fire in 1671/2, and with it, the final curtain seems to have fallen on Shirley's career as a dramatist. The company returned to the Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre, until their rebuilt theatre was ready for reoccupation, on 26 March 1674.³⁷⁰ The new Theatre Royal was less extravagant than the theatre at Dorset Garden, which was occupied by the Duke's Men from 1670 until the merger of the two companies in 1682. Though Shirley's play transferred well enough onto the limited scenic arrangement of the Theatre Royal, it seems that they were not strong enough visual spectacles to compete with the shows well-suited to the Dorset Garden playhouse. As plays focused on subtleties of manner and character, and quick wit, they did not compete with the distractingly extravagant décor of the Dorset Garden theatre.

Among other likely reasons that the Shirley plays were overlooked after the merger of the two companies and the rebuilding of Bridges Street after fire is the size of the auditorium. Although audience numbers and raw theatre dimensions are not evidence the degree of intimacy of a space *per se*, since they cannot tell us about the arrangement of the seating, the sightlines, or actor-audience interactions, some tentative conclusions can be drawn. Langhans offers the measurement from the back of the stage area to the back of the

³⁷⁰ Van Lennep, *London Stage*, p. 209.

auditorium, the 'scene depth', as 'a good measure of a theatre's intimacy'.³⁷¹ The theatre at Dorset Garden had a scene depth in the region of 70', approximately twice that of the Bridges Street, Lincolns Inn Fields and Vere Street theatres (whose approximate scene depths are all estimated by Langhans to have been 30-35'). If Langhans is correct, then the Dorset Garden theatre was significantly less intimate than the other playhouses.

Shirley's plays work well in intimate spaces, as we saw at the recent production of *Hyde Park* in the University of York's 200-seat Heslington studio theatre (directed by Michael Cordner, 2016). The high proportion of asides in the actor's lines, and the high degree of self-conscious theatricality exhibited in his drama mean that a theatre that facilitates actor-audience interaction is essential. The precise, self-conscious, even self-parodic, nature of Shirley's drama, poking light-hearted fun at the audience, who were so closely reflected in its protagonists that in one case the play was censored, is suited to a relatively intimate theatre. The small space allows actors to make direct eye contact with members of the audience, and the large forestage and relatively small scenic area allowed the action to take place close to the audience, facilitating easy rapport. The effect was enhanced by the strategic pruning of dialogue to avoid offending the audience's sensibilities, appealing instead to the audience's sense of its own discerning intelligence.

Music and Masque

The same actor-audience rapport is equally reliant on the strategic use of music and sound. Music was an important aspect of the Restoration theatrical experience: it is called for at every act change and often within an act, indicating, or implying a scene change. John Bannister, the Musician Royal, was closely linked with the theatre, and Killigrew introduced the habit of placing

³⁷¹ Langhans, 'Theatres', p. 42.

musicians at the front of the stage.³⁷² Diegetic music is often called for in the dialogue as well as noted by the prompter.

As we have seen, the Masque is cut completely, along with all references to it, in promptbook of *Love's Cruelty* in the Brotherton collection, Leeds. Milhous and Hume remark that

Masques were not a feature of Charles II's court, and evidently the King's Company did not wish to invite nostalgia for the glories of Jonson and Inigo Jones.³⁷³

In the *Love's Cruelty* promptbook, a brief mention of masque as a courtly pleasure is retained, but the lengthy description of it with specific references to both Jonson and Jones is significantly cut (2.2, sig. D). Since the masque is also cut from the promptbook of *The Ball*, this suggests that the editor was influenced by the current of disaffection for masque in the Restoration. Leslie Hotson tells the story of the masquing house built by Charles in 1640, close to Whitehall, to spare the Banqueting room in Whitehall's £3000 ceiling, painted by Rubens, from the damage inflicted by the many candles required to light the space for masquing.³⁷⁴ When Parliament issued its edict calling for the structure to be torn down, proceeds from the sale of its components were earmarked to 'be employed towards the Payment of the King's poor Servants Wages'.³⁷⁵ To pay salaries owed by the crown to its servants was a slick, egalitarian-looking move that used masque as a symbol for courtly excess and social inequality. Furthermore, as Barbara K. Lewalski writes 'many saw connections between

³⁷² See Wallis, esp. p. 672, on Killigrew having the Royal musicians at his disposal. See also Miyoshi, 'Killigrew', p. 21.

³⁷³ Milhous and Hume, 'A 1660s Promptbook'.

³⁷⁴ Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, pp. 12-13.

³⁷⁵ Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage* p. 13 (and note 40)

Queen Henrietta Maria's court entertainments, with their sophisticated pastoralism and Neoplatonism, and her Roman Catholicism.'³⁷⁶ Interestingly, *The Grateful Servant* also features a masque, but this is not cut by the editor of the 1661 edition, possibly because it is more integral to the plot and therefore difficult to excise.

The cuts to the masque sequence in Act Three of *The Traitor* are to the watching Sciarrah's commentary on the masque, rather than the masque dialogue itself.

but the Syrens
Of lust make him secure, and now the hagge
Embraces him, and circles him with pleasures,
The harpyes meane to dance too (sig. F)

the ground maske and the glorie
Begin the revels ... and the whipps: does not
That deaths head looke most te[m]ptingly? the wormes
Have kist the lips off. (Sig. F)

These lines offer description of the masque that is not given in the stage directions or any other part of the dialogue. It may be, therefore, that the lines were cut so that the text no longer calls for the masque to feature these details, saving the Restoration theatre company the cost and effort of creating them on the stage. The masque itself is not altogether cut, but much of the description of it is, so that the company is more free to stage the masque in a more cost-effective and convenient manner.

³⁷⁶ See Barbara K. Lewalski, 'Milton's Comus and the politics of Masquing' in David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (eds), *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque* (Cambridge University Press, 1998) pp. 296-320, p. 297.

The editing on *The Grateful Servant* and the *Love's Cruelty* promptbooks generally show remarkably similar prejudices and inclinations, i.e. cutting sexual and religiously sensitive passages in a heavy-handed, but careful, way. They do not require major or extensive alteration to make them 'stageable'. The survival of the masque in *The Grateful Servant* might be better explained by timing: publication records show that few masques were printed between the outbreak of civil war and the Restoration, with Shirley's *Cupid and Death* among only four masques printed between 1642 and 1659. Two went to second editions within a year of first publication suggesting that market forces were not entirely to blame for this. However, in 1660 and 1661 three masques were printed, one of which was reprinted in 1662, then no further masques were printed until 1670. This fits with the pattern of masques cut from Shirley plays – i.e. it remains in the 1661 edition of *The Grateful Servant* but is cut from promptbooks produced after that date.³⁷⁷

Masque may have seemed simply passé, but was likely a painful reminder of the excesses of Charles I's court that had preceded disaster, or an uncomfortable hint at the Catholic bent to the Royal family that would become increasingly problematic as Charles II's reign progressed. A Parliamentary newsbook from 1646 that goes so far as to liken the court masque to the war itself:

The stage of War is like a maske at Court full of the croud, and of noyse,
and gallantry at the first, but on the next morning (the rich intention and

³⁷⁷ Hotson writes: 'After the King's execution a Puritan writer found it "remarkable, that he should end his dayes in a Tragedie at the Banqueting-house, where he had seene, and caused many a Comedy to be acted upon the Lord's Day." One can almost see the sagacious readers wag their heads over the miraculous fitness of things.' *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, pp. 42-3.

the furniture that brought Heaven and earth together to a conference being taken downe) it appeares a very spectacle of confusion, and all about it are silent as sleepe or midnight, so hath the War declared it selfe to be; the Musick and the glory of it hath delighted and deluded many, but the conclusion hath bin fatal, and left many great and gallant personages low as the grave, to enjoy a long rest in the silence and sloth of death.³⁷⁸

The Shirley promptbooks indicate a move away from these expensive spectacles that may provide a correction to the assumption that Restoration drama privileged visual spectacle at every opportunity. According to Howard, the masque in *The Ball* is crucial to Colonel Winfield's change of heart, and that 'the ball, with its foreign associations and potentially sexualized practices, is perhaps not entirely "honest," nor are the women who affect it. Venus claims that the ball belongs to her (as in the story of Paris on Mount Ida), but Diana 'emerges as queen of this assembly', 'in a reversal of the Paris story', 'installing "modest thoughts" on all who participate'.³⁷⁹ If something as spectacular as a Masque was technically feasible, and politically benign, why eliminate it?

The above discussion assumes that the masque was cut from the promptbook of *The Ball*. However, this is, frustratingly, uncertain. The 'cuts' I have mentioned are indicated by surrounding the text in a box. These are *presumably* cuts, but they are not crossed through as they usually are in promptbooks. In, for example, *The Rise and Fall of Caius Marius* and *The Prophetess*, some passages are crossed through in boxes, and are thus quite clearly cuts, while others are just in boxes. The possibility remains that the boxes indicate something else that a prompter would need to note. Could the masque in *The Ball* have been marked in the promptbook because it signaled a

³⁷⁸ Quoted in Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, p. 18.

³⁷⁹ Howard, *Theatre of a City*, pp. 182-3.

cue to the stagehands and musicians, and not because it was cut? This seems to have happened in the promptbook of Fletcher and Massinger's *The Prophetess*. A prompt for 'Diocles' is written in the margin next to a boxed section (p. 40). It makes little sense to put a character entrance note next to a cut section, which throws doubt on the assumption that the box indicates a cut. Of course, the cut may have been made *after* the prompter marked character entrance cues, but if that was the case, it would have been sensible to move the cue. The masque in *The Prophetess* is boxed, but only crossed out on p. 70, with no crosses on p. 76, p. 68, p. 69 or p. 71. On p. 65 it notes 'singers ready' on p. 53 'every body ready'. The masque might be boxed because it was a technically complicated sequence. If this is true for *The Prophetess*, it may equally be true for *The Ball*, and thus we cannot be entirely sure that the masque was cut from the Restoration productions of *The Ball*. In *The Witty Fair One* promptbook, the bottom corner of Sig. G3 has been torn off. That particular page has songs on it, and was therefore likely to have been one of the most exhaustively rehearsed sections of the play, requiring the actors, prompter and musicians to work together. Perhaps frequent use of that page caused the tear. This leaves us with the intriguing question as to whether the masque was really to be cut from *The Ball* or simply marked in a box because it required special attention.

Prompter's markings do not give as much information as we might like to have about Restoration productions of Shirley, but they do indicate that his work adapted to the new theatres, without major rewriting or alteration, demonstrating Shirley's use of space, light and sound remained effective and practical in the Restoration theatres up to the late 1660s. They also fill in a piece of the puzzle of Shirley's descent into obscurity. When the Bridges Street theatre was burned down in 1672, the stage depth increased from c.15.5m to c.20m, the seating capacity increased from around 700 people to over 1000, and Shirley's plays were already falling out of fashion, and being rewritten by

the likes of Robert Gould and Aphra Behn.³⁸⁰ The same transitions in theatre, including innovations in scenic and flying technology, and transitions in dialogue and delivery toward the bombastic styles of heroic drama, and the need to project to an ever-larger audience made Shirley's plays, which had been so perfect for the early Restoration theatres, untenable in the newer, larger theatres of the long eighteenth-century.

Shirley's plays, it is clear, needed very little adaptation to bring them onto stage in the first six theatrical seasons after the Restoration. Hughes suggests, that 'some variant of Gresham's law was applicable to the theatre', and that in the case of Restoration adaptations, the 'very reverse' of Gresham's law has operated. Gresham's law states that coins, artefacts, or, in this case, plays, that are debased or altered from their original form will remain in circulation longer than purer forms (or coins whose market value is similar to their actual value). The law is a convenient one for explaining the outcome of Restoration treatment of older drama. Hughes seems to be correct that if one looks only at Shakespeare's plays, the 'pure' form actually remained in circulation, while the 'debased' forms (i.e., for Hughes, Otway, Davenant and Tate's versions) disappeared. However, if one looks beyond Shakespeare to his contemporaries, we see that those whose work was the least adapted by the Restoration dramatists - Ben Jonson, Fletcher, Marlowe, Beaumont, and perhaps chief among them, Shirley - were enjoyed by a few, even several, generations after their deaths, but ultimately became obscure, rarely played, and to be found only in dusty volumes in archives. Shakespeare's plays were the most adapted by Restoration dramatists, and he lives on as the most revered playwright, but his work continues to exist in ever more variously adapted forms: foreign language productions, modern dress productions, heavily cut versions, films and musicals abound. Rarely do we see uncut, 'original practices' productions. Those that do occur (the work of Shakespeare's

³⁸⁰ Data from Langhans, 'Theatres', p. 62.

Globe, London, in particular) are the exceptions that prove the rule. The discussion of 'debased' versions of Shakespeare is developed in the concluding chapter of this thesis, in which I compare Davenant's treatment of Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* and *Much Ado About Nothing*, merged into one new play, *The Law Against Lovers*, with Killigrew's treatment of Shirley's *The Traitor*, in which similar themes appear.

In this chapter, we have seen that Shirley's plays required remarkably little adaptation to make them stageable in the Restoration theatres at Vere St, Lincolns Inn Fields and Bridges Street. Scenery appropriate to the plays was used without the need for major adaptations to the script. The length and nature of the scenes made them easy to transfer onto the Restoration stages. They did not, however, exploit the technical capabilities of the second generation of Restoration playhouses and this might account for the fact that they were dropped from repertoire in the late 1660s. In the next two chapters, I turn to the promptbooks of *Love's Cruelty*, *The Sisters* and *The Maid's Revenge* (in chapter eight) and *The Ball* and *The Witty Fair One* (in chapter nine).

Chapter 8: 'My soule is full of shame and tears': the promptbooks of *Love's Cruelty*, *The Sisters* and *The Maid's Revenge*

The promptbook of *Love's Cruelty*, found in the Brotherton Collection, University of Leeds, is a copy of the 1640 imprint by Thomas Cotes for Andrew Crooke, the only known seventeenth-century edition of the play. Changes are marked in four or more separate hands. Two of them are key to the following discussion: hand A and hand B (those identified by Milhous and Hume as 'thin pen' and 'thick pen' respectively).³⁸¹ Both of these hands mark passages of dialogue for exclusion, and make minor editorial changes. A third hand adds an 'x' near most of the unnamed courtier's speeches. The reason for this is not clear, though perhaps the text was once used by an actor rehearsing that part. As cut passages are sometimes marked, it appears that these notes were made before the hands A and B marked their cuts. Scene changes, warnings for entrances (usually, but not exclusively by character, rather than actor names), sound cues and act endings are also marked. A fourth hand makes notes on scenery, notes actor cues and musical cues, and was discussed in chapter seven, above. If we are looking for evidence of Shirley's involvement with the professional Restoration theatres, we must look closely at the nature of the adaptations and consider whose hands these might be.

The original title page boasts that the play 'was presented by her Majesties servants at the private House in Drury Lane.' It was licensed on 4 November 1631, and was performed in that year by the Queen's Men. As with the plays discussed in the previous chapter, the play required no major alterations to make it playable at the Bridges Street theatre by the King's Company in 1667/8, and earlier, in 1661 and 1662, by the same company, at their temporary residence at Vere Street. Prior to that, it was used by the group

³⁸¹ Milhous and Hume, 'A Promptbook' p. 3.

of actors performing illegally at the Red Bull. *Love's Cruelty* was evidently a play that transferred easily between theatres and its longevity suggests that it was, if not a stand-out favourite, a reliable part of Killigrew's offering. Killigrew first revived it on 15 November 1660, making the play one of the earliest entrants to the Restoration canon. Whether the play was performed between 1662 and 1667 is unclear, but entirely possible. Pepys saw *Love's Cruelty* on 30 December 1667. He dismissed it as 'a very silly play' and called it 'an old play, but which I have not seen before', indicating that he was aware of its existence but by no means compelled to go out of his way to see it.³⁸²

The female lead, Clariana, was played in the Caroline period by Nicholas Burt (fl.1635–1690), a boy actor who trained in Beeston's Boys. He fought for the King in cornet under Sir Thomas Dallison in Prince Rupert's regiment during the Civil War and he was one of the actors imprisoned for performing at the Red Bull in 1659, that night playing the role of Latorch in *The Bloody Brother*.³⁸³ He had graduated to playing male characters by that time, since he is also known to have played Hubert in *The Beggar's Bush* in 1659-60, and he played the title role in *Othello* in October 1660.³⁸⁴ The markings in the promptbook indicating cuts to be made to the dialogue demonstrate that when the role of Clariana transferred to an actress (whose identity remains unknown) it was carefully reconsidered.³⁸⁵ Michel Mohun played the betrayed husband,

³⁸² Pepys, *Diary*, 30 Dec. 1667

³⁸³ Highfill, Burnim, Langhans, *BDA*, volume 2, p. 433.

³⁸⁴ *London Stage*, p. 18; Pepys, *Diary*, 11 October 1660.

³⁸⁵ Actresses in the King's Company between 1663 and 1667 who might have played Clariana include: Katherine Corey, Mrs. Eastland, Elizabeth Farley-Weaver, Mary Man, Anne Marshall, Rebecca Marshall, Katherine Mitchell, Jane Russell, Margaret Rutter (recorded as part of the company in the 1663-4 season), Amy Dalton, Elizabeth Davenport, Frances Davenport, Nell Gwynn, Elizabeth Hall, Mary Knepp (recorded in from the 1664-5 season onwards), Elizabeth Boutell, Anne Child, Elizabeth Offley (recorded from the 1666-7 season onwards).

Bellemente, in the Caroline period, and he revived the role for Killigrew, now older, and acting opposite a woman, not a boy.³⁸⁶ Burt and Mohun held two shares each in the Theatre Royal (having invested in 1661), and Burt also had a share in the acting company itself, indicating that he was a person of some influence in the company.³⁸⁷ It must have suited these actors to retain a play they were familiar with from their earliest acting days in the new repertoire. But when they transferred the play to the Restoration stage, how did they make the role of Clariana acceptable for one of the first actresses to enter the professional London stage?

Women Actors: Notorious Whores.

Love's Cruelty is edited much along the same lines as both other Shirley promptbooks, and the Restoration editions of Shirley's plays: as well as removal of bawdy jokes, actor movements are clarified with extra entrances and exits noted, the play is shortened by removing flamboyant speeches not integral to the plot, astrological metaphors are removed (in 3.2, sig. E3, for example), and direct criticism of the Duke is removed (particularly when he is referred to as 'the prince', or his sexual exploits are the cause of criticism). Some of these editorial choices might at first seem redundant, since the play is, at its core, the tale of an extramarital affair and a lustful Duke, it therefore cannot be stripped of its adult content and remain a coherent whole. The scene in which Hippolito and Clariana are caught opens with the two of them in a bed, and this is not cut, yet reference to a 'baudy house', for example, is struck out.

³⁸⁶ Colley Cibber recalls, 'There Burt used to Play the principal Women's Parts, in particular Clariana in *Loves Cruelty*; and at the same time Mohun acted Bellamente, which Part he retain'd after the Restauration.' *Apology*, p. xxv.

³⁸⁷ Highfill, Burnim and Langhans, *BDA*.

What is the editorial rationale behind removing lewd references from a play that deals so explicitly with sexuality?

The audience at the Theatre Royal in the 1660s had paid four shillings to sit in the Boxes, two shillings six pence for a bench seat in the pit, one shilling and six pence for the Middle Gallery or a shilling for the Upper Gallery.³⁸⁸ We get some sense of audience behaviour in the least expensive part of the theatre when we recall that oranges were not sold in the upper gallery, because they were potential missiles. The slightly more well-to-do members of the audience, seated on the pit benches, which were covered in green cloth, or the boxes, were positioned on a steeply raked floor, allowing easy conversational flow between the two. Perhaps the editor(s) of the promptbook felt that this audience was not likely to understand the subtleties of a complex presentation of female sexuality. The chatter in this audience was also perhaps steered away from linking references in the play to their own political situations, such as the possible reflection on Charles I's personal rule, a timely warning in 1631, when tension between Charles and parliament was reaching its zenith, but an unfortunate jibe after the Civil War: 'I do not think his grave will acquaint his counsel / With such a cause' (1.2.sig Cv). This line is struck out of the promptbook, probably to avoid a slight. In general, however, the prompter's cuts do not target isolated lines that risked interpretation as political interventions. The more frequent targets are long speeches, which provide back-stories, add description, or provide insight into the characters' thoughts and feelings as they suffer through their dilemmas. Cutting a play necessarily risks making the characters and plots less complex, and while this is usually a successful strategy commercially, nuance, subtlety and depth may be sacrificed. The result brings characters closer to archetypes.

³⁸⁸ Harry William Pedicord, 'The Changing Audience', in Robert Hume (ed.), *The London Theatre World 1660-1800*, pp. 236-252, Robert Hume and Arthur Scouten 'Restoration Comedy and its Audiences 1660-1776, *Yearbook of English Studies* 10 (1980): 45-69.

***Love's Cruelty* becomes 'Clariana's Cruelty'**

The action of *Love's Cruelty* is set in motion when Bellamente tells his fiancée, Clariana, that his best friend, Hippolito, about whom she has heard a lot, has refused to meet her before their wedding for fear he will be attracted to her, thanks to Bellamente's glowing accounts of her:

He loves me so well he dares not trust
His frailty with thy sight, whom I have so
Commended, least before our marriage
Some thing should share in his affection
Which he hath studied to preserve entire
For me, he will not trust his eyes with any
Beauty I love, lest they should stray with too much
License, and by degrees corrupt his faith[?]
He knows not what may thief upon his senses
Or what temptation may rise from him.³⁸⁹

While Bellamente considers this to be 'an act above all friendship', Clariana's curiosity is immediately piqued, and she resolves, the moment Bellamente leaves, to 'see this strange friend' (sig. B3). As we might expect from the foregrounding of this relationship in the opening scene, Hippolito and Clariana do meet, they do fall in love and they do betray Bellamente. The promptbook, however, while leaving this opening exchange intact, makes key alterations that change the audience's perception of both Clariana and Hippolito for the worse.

³⁸⁹ Shirley, *Love's Cruelty* (London: Printed for Andrew Crooke, 1640), sig. B2.

The changes begin at the moment Bellamente exits, cutting Clariana's line: 'Not one kiss at parting?' and Bellamente's response: 'Let one speak the devotion of your servant / That would but not stay, to print a thousand'. No kiss actually takes place here, so Killigrew did not necessarily need to cut the line for the sake of appeasing the censor. This promptbook dates from 1663-7, and Herbert's powers were somewhat limited by then.³⁹⁰ Undoubtedly, cutting this exchange removes a moment when the actress delivering it might have seemed somewhat 'forward' to a deeply conservative audience, but another interpretation should be considered.

Clariana is, after all, engaged to Bellamente, and so it would not be unreasonable for them to kiss, and her request might even be considered a display of affection on her part that would endear her to the audience. She might offer a hand, rather than her lips. When the lines are cut, Bellamente exits immediately after this speech:

Thar't all sweetness
 But I forget my attendance on the Duke
 Now you allow my absence, virtuous thoughts
 Streame in your bosome. (sig. B2v)

With Clariana's request for a kiss omitted, she says nothing in response to this, until Bellamente has left the stage, when she immediately starts a conversation with her maidservant:

Cla. Milena
Mil. Madam
Cla. Is Bellamente gone?
Mil. Yes Madam

³⁹⁰ Milhous and Hume, 'A promptbook', p. 1.

Cla. I must see this strange friend, bid make ready
The Caroch, and do attend

Clariana's rapid decision to completely disregard Bellamente's request is mitigated, somewhat, if she at least requests a kiss of her betrothed before he rushes off to attend to business. The fact that he denies her this suggests a lack of attentiveness on his part that might be seen as justifying the affair that inevitably follows.

The prompter's mark still leaves an actress interpreting the role with some freedom about how to behave in this moment. She could still offer a kiss to Bellamente, in a non-verbal way, proffer some other affectionate gesture, or look offended that he leaves without showing her affection. Without a line giving the actress a hint as to the nature of her parting from Bellamente, she is likely to appear entirely cold and uninterested. If the play does not include Bellamente's rejection of Clariana, the audience loses an opportunity to feel pity for her at this moment, and this will be felt later in the play. In this pivotal opening scene in which the audience meets the character for the first time, this decision is crucial to the audience's interpretation of what follows. If the audience is not persuaded of the real mutual affection between Bellamente and Clariana, it is more able to empathise with Clariana's submission to her greater passion for Hippolito. Later in the play, Bellamente challenges her to accuse him of being a cold husband:

Were my embraces cold
Frost in my blood? Or in thy bed was I
Conveyd a snowball, rould up the children
Do to play with winter, did I not affect thee
Beyond all the comfort of the world? (4.1, sig. G)

Hip. You are not serious
In what you say? I hope you do not take me
For such a juggler? If you think I practice
Cla. That look acquits you, then at my nativity

Some powerful star reigned, I have heard Astrologers
Talk of Venus

Hip. And of Mars when they are
In conjunction, they encline us mortals
Strangely to love and ly with one another

Cla. I am ignorant
What influence we have from them, but I
Am sure something has strangely wrought on me
Hip. As how madam?

Cla. Why to love, I know not home.
You know my meaning, but truth witness with me
When first I saw your person I gave up my liberty.
Me thought I loved you strangely. (sigs. C3r-v)

After retaining Clariana's casual reference to witchcraft but deleting the lines that make her lack of interest in black magic clear, the same conversation is purged of a strand about the couple's sense of remorse and loyalty to Bellamente:

Hi. I had desires too I could not justifie
But knowledge that you were my friends, for that time
All loose fires, but love that swaid you, then quenched
And kept your thoughts longing, met with my heart
And seald it up for you, yet when I think on Bellamente,
There's wrestlings in my blood.

Cla. Just when I think on him tis so with mine,
That love should be so equall, do'st not stir you
Sometimes to think of former vowes? Nay I do dream
Sometimes of being surprised in thy dear armes
And then methinke I weep, and sigh and wake.

With my own groans. (sig. E3v)

Hippolito does not tell her that he has had the same experience, in fact, he responds 'I never dream of that', cueing Clariana to elaborate:

It is my foolish fancy, yet such fears
Should waking never trouble me, those lovers
That have not art to hide, and to secure
Their amorous thefts, deserve to be reveal'd. (sig. E3v)

All of this is cut, and, without it, the scene moves directly from Clariana's statement that 'there been too much witchcraft / To make poore women dote' (sig. E3) to Hippolito's line suggesting that he too naively blames supernatural forces for his attraction to Clariana:

Sure there's no woman in the world but this
Could have such power against my friend, each syllable
Renews her force upon me (sig. E3v).

The implication raised by the new juxtaposition of lines is that Clariana *is* the witch, who has bewitched both Bellamante and Hippolito into loving her, to their cost. The notion of both Clariana and Hippolito struggling against a powerful mutual attraction and longing that they poetically ascribe to the force of the stars and to witchcraft has disappeared. These were reasonable enough literary tropes in 1631, even 1640, but had come to be regarded as foolish superstitions by 1660, as we saw in chapter two.³⁹¹ After the consummation of the affair (the lovers are seen onstage in a bed in 4.1), hand A once more denies Clariana an opportunity to show repentance, by cutting the following lines from her speech:

³⁹¹ See pp. 58-62, above.

memorable words, ‘notorious whores’.³⁹² This was not done simply by deleting bawdy jokes and kisses, although this did happen, but by adapting female roles to make them less complex, a little closer to caricatures, and, therefore easier to separate from the actresses who played them. An actress playing a fallen woman archetype, a deliberate opposite of the ‘deere virgin’, Eubella, need have less fear that the audience will fail to distinguish between her and the character she plays. Greater bravery and commitment is required on the part of an actress who brings real depth to the character’s struggle, and the more ‘human’ she makes the character, the more likely a target she becomes for the charge that she is playing herself – an accusation that was not applicable to pre-pubescent boy actors. But it is not only Clariana’s part that is altered in this way.

Several lines in which Hippolito expresses remorse and torn feelings are cut from his part. Lines such as ‘if she have praid since, she has been sorry for loving me so well’ convey a powerful sense of the character’s inner wranglings and even self-loathing, but they are cut. And, after Hippolito articulates his intention not to marry for some time (which is retained by both editors) his line ‘a soleseisme, tis more honourable to be a peep out, then stand a single game’ (sig. C3v) is cut by hand B. Another of Hippolito’s attacks of conscience is struck from 3.2:

And does she
Meet my modest flame? Nay must the tapers
Sacred to Hymen light us to our sinnes?
Lust was too early up in both, oh man
Oh woman! That our fires had kiss’d like lightning
Which doth no sooner blaze but is extinct (sig. E2v)

³⁹² Prynne, *Histriomastix*, ‘Tables’, unpaginated.

This speech is a soliloquy, an actor's chance to build direct rapport with the audience and to gain their empathy. This cut robs the actor playing Hippolito of this opportunity, and the audience of the chance to see Hippolito's conscience plague him. Once he is caught by Bellamante, his acceptance of his fate in Shirley's original version could be construed as noble, but hand B marks these lines for omission:

Nor? have I so much innocence to hope
 You will delay your justice, were I arm'd
 With power to resist, I should add more
 Offences by defending of this life (4.1, sig. H4v).

Hippolito's assurance that he would not defend himself against Bellamante, because he understands himself to be at fault, is shortened to a statement of under two lines that could make Hippolito appear more eager for a duel than genuinely remorseful:

Death, from that hand, I apprehend no mercie
 [...] That has so basely injured you (4.1, sig. H4v).

So many of Hippolito's guilty, remorseful lines are cut that he is made to seem more like Pamphilus in Flecknoe's *Love's Kingdom*.³⁹³ The roles of Clariana and Hippolito in *Love's Cruelty* are striking examples of the flattening of character and nuance that took place in the adaptation of the play from an all-male production for a Caroline audience in a small, relatively expensive indoor playhouse, to a mixed-gender performance on the Restoration stage.

³⁹³ See pages 97-99, above.

Clariana is not the only recipient of Hippolito's sexual attentions in the play. Under duress from the Duke, he is forced to seduce Eubella. Some of the phrases he uses in this scene, such as 'and twine with him' are removed by the thick pen. Interestingly, twining of limbs is a theme in some of the omitted passages in the Restoration edition of *The Grateful Servant*.³⁹⁴ This might indicate that this cut was made by Shirley, in other words, the 'thick pen' markings may be Shirley's, in which case, the 'thin pen' was probably owned by Thomas Killigrew. As elsewhere, the sexual content cannot be completely removed from the scene. Hippolito still entreats Eubella to 'meet [the Duke] but to night for my sake' (sig. D2v). The implications remain clear, and, with lines such as 'I will call my conscience to account' cut out, Hippolito moves closer to the *Pamphilus* archetype (sig. G3).

Drunkenness and noble anger

Sebastian, the father of Eubella, the unfortunate virgin victim of the sexually predatory Duke, bemoans his situation and goes to a tavern to 'drink myself into a heat above his conjuration' (sig. c2). The abuses he suffers at the hands of the Duke are perhaps more palatable to the audience if he is at least a drunk. The play returns to the theme of drunkenness in 4.2, when Bonavente tells the Duke he may find Hippolito in a tavern, but hand A strikes the detail that the tavern:

is next door to a

Du. To a what?

Bo. It has a courser name

Du. No matter:

Bo. To a bawdy house.

³⁹⁴ Discussed on p. 108, above.

The Duke's response 'that's not impossible' thus seems to relate to Bonavente's statement (immediately before the cut) that one of Hippolito's haunts is a tavern, suggesting that he is aware of Hippolito's reputation for drinking, rather than a comment on the simple likelihood that a tavern might well be found next to a brothel.

The tavern scene was apparently staged quite 'naturalistically', with a table, stools and wine brought onto stage, with the cups the characters are drinking from clearly referred to in the dialogue (3.1, sig. D4v). Shirley has ensured that at the end of the scene, time is allowed for the Tavern set and properties to be struck while Hippolito delivers a thirteen-line speech. In the Caroline theatre, this was a necessary negotiation of space and time, since set changes happened in view of the audience. But in the Restoration theatre, this need not be the case. The shutters and back scenes could be worked so that the transformation of the scene from Tavern to Court can happen much more quickly, with shutters used to conceal all of the furniture behind them while the stage hands work to strike the Tavern furniture, as the following scene progresses. This gave hand B the freedom to cut the heroic couplet from the end of Sebastian's line in 3.1, and six lines from Hippolito's speech (sig. E2v). In general, scene changes added to the running time of a play, but here we see an interesting example of how scenery may have improved the flow from one scene to another, rather than hampering and stiling it.

The final couplet of 3.2 is Sebastian's opportunity to exonerate himself, and distance himself from the inebriated Bonavente (Hippolito's father). The speech begins 'Hee's drunke already/ That which has raised me but to noble anger / Is his distraction', but hand B has struck out its conclusion:

Let him fret do what he can
 The world shall call Sebastian honest man.

Sebastian is prevented from expressing his anger to the audience in 3.1, by hand A, which cuts his lament:

Although he ravish not Eubella,
 From her self, yet he does ravish
 A daughter from her father, and ile voice it
 Through every street, I am not bound to whisper
 When griefs so loud within me. (sig. F)

Without Sebastian's emphasis on attending to his own reputation and his just anger, much after the fashion of the Spanish romance heroes discussed in chapter five, his determination to ruin the Duke begins to seem like insubordination:

Now to the wanton Duke, heaven let him see
 His shame and know, great men practice lust
 Both kill their body and corrupt their dust.

When Shirley penned these lines in 1631, Charles and Henrietta Maria were enjoying a period of marital strength and domestic harmony, and they could have had no particular resonance with the monarch.³⁹⁵ But this was far from the case in the 1660s, leaving the promptbook editor forced to sidestep the problem of the adulterous monarch in this play.

³⁹⁵ Veevers, *Images of Love and Religion*, p. 14.

'Now to the wanton Duke'

One of the longest sections to be cut is a conversation about the Duke between Hippolito and an unnamed courtier (which occurs before the Duke's first appearance on stage)

Hip. ... The Duke has the advantage, he is able to make great men, there is no band to a round pension *per annum*, or the severe brow of authority, promotion will turn the stomach, we under-sinners o'the commonwealth, ha nothing but our good parts to procure for us, she is like to become game royall then.

Cour. The Duke pretends she shall be in some place neere the Duchesse,

Hip. In some neere place with the Duke, when the Duchesse is in another bed and never Dreames on't; she may in time be a gamester, in the meane time the Duke will play at Cards with her, and if he chance turne up a coate, the honor shall be hers, and a stock perhaps to set up the precious sinne withall, (sig. C3)

These lines are so reminiscent of the love triangle between Charles II, Barbara Villiers, Countess of Castlemaine, and Queen Catherine of Braganza that it is tempting to assume that they may have been cut after the Restoration to avoid a direct attack on Charles. Charles deliberately placed Villiers as a Lady of the Bedchamber to Catherine, in order to be close to her, and to set her up in an apartment near his own. The line also touches on the promotion she was given, and this exchange comes moments after the two comments on the Knighthood granted to Eubella's father, Sebastian, which is reminiscent of the titles given to Villier's husband, who was made Baron Limerick and Earl of Castlemaine in

1661, while his wife was pregnant with the King's child.³⁹⁶ However, there is a more persuasive reason for the cut, which is that in the final scene of the play, the Duke marries Eubella in order to make good his earlier attempts on her chastity. The Duchess does not appear as a character and is not mentioned at any other point in the play. She would have been, of course, an insurmountable obstacle to the *denouement* if she had. In all likelihood, this speech represents an idea (that there is a Duchess) abandoned by Shirley, that has been preserved in the 1640 imprint by oversight and the inconsistency is corrected by the Restoration annotator.

Nonetheless, cuts that preserve 'the Prince' from aspersions cast upon his sexual exploits continue. The hand A cuts:

Seb. It depends upon the Princes chastity
 Whose example builds up vertue
 Or makes iniquity a trade
Du. Why should you
 Be such an enemy to your selfe, (sig. B4v)

This exchange would have been uncomfortable in Carolean England, since Sebastian places emphasis on the moral duty of the Prince to uphold the moral virtue of the entire society through his own 'chastity'. Sebastian is still allowed his lines that express his outrage at the possibility that his daughter's 'maidentowne' may be sacrificed to the demanding Duke, but only in so far as they conform to the principle familiar in the Spanish romance genre, that fathers have a moral duty to uphold their daughter's honour, so that the line 'He

³⁹⁶ S. M. Wynne, 'Palmer, Barbara, countess of Castlemaine and duchess of Cleveland (*bap.* 1640, *d.* 1709)', *ODNB*, (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008) [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28285, accessed 6 October 2016]

must not whore my daughter' is retained, as is the fact, integral to the plot, that the Duke wishes to seduce Eubella. The cut lines are those which place any great moral responsibility upon the Duke to lead by example, or suggest that the consequences of any dalliances would be further-reaching than the end of the bed. So that Bellamente's response to the line quoted above is cut by the hand A:

Bel. I commend,
 Your noble soul, but be advis'd how you
 Express your trouble, grief while it is dumb
 Doth fret within, but when we give our thoughts
 Articulate sound we must distinguish hearers,
 Princes are dangerous and carry death
 Upon their tongue, I wish you well and speak
 My friendly counsell – 'las poor gentleman.
Du. Come, you must wear this jewell, I ha don (sig. C)

In addition to the deletion of the description of the Prince as 'dangerous', the Duke's attempt at bribery is also cut. On the same page, a short line is pruned from the middle of second Courtier's speech, also by the thin pen: 'to leave his Daughter to his highnesse mercie, for he rises that she may be humbled'. This explicit reference to the whoring of a daughter for the sake of a father's advancement is cut, though the general theme of the scene, that Eubella will receive a place at court and that a Patent will be drawn up to create her father Lord, is allowed to stand. But the Second Courtier, instead of sounding obviously critical of such a bargain, sounds like a defender of the sexual freedom of the young against the prudish and restrictive sensibilities of the old:

If these wonot purchase the old mans consent there are other courses to be thought on. *Sebastian* has been a Souldier, there are quarrells now in the world and Christian warres he were a fit man for a Generall when hee's abroad, the seige at home wonot be so desperate. (Sig. C)

By suggesting that Sebastian could be sent away to war to clear the way to his daughter's bed, but without the judgmental comment 'he rises that she may be humbled', the Second Courtier seems to be condoning this course of action for the Duke – even, perhaps, suggesting it. With the line intact, he seems to be offering Sebastian a friendly warning. The Second Courtier's next line, a response to the First (amended to Third) Courtier's 'She must be the Court Starre', is also removed:

Co. Do not you blaze it abroad neither, I do not
Think his grace will acquaint his counsell
With such a cause (1.2. sig. 1Cv).

This line makes the Duke's action out to be underhand (and, therefore, wrong) and hints at friction between the leader and his counsel. Cutting this line may have been an attempt to efface the late unpleasantness, as we saw in the amendments in the second Quarto of *The Grateful Servant* in chapter three. It is unclear which hand deleted this particular line: it may have been hand A, or even a third editor.

In the second act, Hippolito likens the Duke to Jupiter, when he tells Eubella:

Hip. ... nay as honest women no dispraise ha longd for't, and it was
 mercie in his highnesse to saye the child's nose, you have the whole
 treasure presented to you, *Jupiter* in a golden shower falling into your
 lap intreats to be accepted, come

This is not the only use of Jupiter's rape of Danae in the form of a shower of gold in the Shirley canon: the same is used in a more extended play-within-the-play in *The Bird in a Cage*, which was staged only three years after *Love's Cruelty*. The allusion clearly refers to rape, and has Hippolito suggesting that Eubella's best course of action would be to accept the sexual advance and seek to profit from it, as some contemporary artworks showed Danae doing.³⁹⁷

Hand B does spare the audience some of the most graphic language in the threats of sexual violence Eubella endures:

Though your father be shut up yet change of air is fitter for your
 complexion, the Duke is a Gentleman that may command in these parts,
 tis not for want of provision, the Duke has a mind to cut up your
 virginity. (4.2, sig. G2v)

It may not be the force of language here that persuaded hand B to cut it, but because it places responsibility squarely with the Duke. Hippolito's apologetic

³⁹⁷ Madlyn Millner Kahr, 'Danae: Virtuous, Voluptuous, Venal Woman', *The Art Bulletin* 60 (1978), 43-55; Jeanne Morgan Zarucchi, 'The Gentileschi "Danae": A Narrative of Rape', *Woman's Art Journal* 19 (1998/9), 13-16; Eric Jan Sluijter, 'Emulating Sensual Beauty: Representations of Danae from Gossaert to Rembrandt', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 27 (1999), 4-45.

speech reveals that the above was a mere test of her chaste resolve and Hippolito does not, in hand B's version of the play, ask Eubella:

Canst thou pardon
That I have tempted thee so far? Thy hand
To give it a religious kiss, when next
My tongue is orator in so foul a cause
The argument it selfe turne a disease
And eate it to the roote. (4.2, sig. G3)

Hippolito's apology is suitable for a Neoplatonic hero, and far outstrips the Duke's show of remorse in the final scene. Perhaps this is why hand A (and possibly a third hand, C) felt the need to cut the following lines from Hippolito to Eubella as well:

By this lip
If my profane touch make thee not offended
There is no good I will not act, nor ill
I will not suffer to deserve thy love
But I am miserable and cannot merit
I have not been at home these many years
Yet I will call my conscience to account
For all, and throw myself upon heavens charity (4.2, sig. G3).

Without such promises to call his conscience to account, Hippolito seems more content with his path in life as a sexual predator and disloyal friend in the Restoration version of this play than he does in the Caroline imprint.

Eubella's condemnation of the Duke (delivered to Hippolito as he tries to persuade her to give in to the Duke) is also cut where it begins to sound like instruction to the King:

We were created men and women to
 Have a command and empire ore the creatures
 And shall we loose [sic.] our privilege our charter
 And willfully degrade our selves of reason
 And piety, to live like beasts, nay be such?
 For what name else can we allow ourselves?
 Hath it been held in every age a virtue
 Rather to suffer death then stain our honor? (Sigs. Dv-D2)

The loss of privilege and charter thanks to philandering was surely to rub salt into a wound for a Royalist any time after the events of 1642-9. This follows a line cut from Hippolito's meditation on maidenhead: 'many have been lost you'd say, who ever found 'em? and could say and justify, this is such' (Sig. Dv). Other, smaller changes also remove comments that would jar with a post-war audience, as war impacted upon the political and cultural significance of many customs.

Fish days

The cut made by hand B in 2.2 to a line about fasting Eubella, 'to make her low enough' (sig. D2v), is not the only line referring to fasting which is excised. Hand A then cuts a long passage regarding Eubella's brother, even though this leaves unanswered the opening question 'what's become of her wise brother?' The cut excises the following:

Cour. He cannot do amisse in the generall advancement, if his father and sister rise-

Hip. He must needs shew a high forehead, tis such a dog in a wheele, hee'le never become a doublet in fashion, he talkes as if he had read Poetry out of Almanacks, and makes a leg like a Farmer, I wonder who begot him?

Cour. His father.

Hip. What father? It had beene a question, had his mother beene a Courtier, and not liv'd and died honest in the Country, they that looke upon him, and his sister, would never think two *Poliux* and *Helena*, twinnes, i'th same egge, yet she may be then his nurse took him for

Cour. Will you not see 'em in?

Hip. Where are they?

Co. I'the garden where the Duke hath beene this halfe houre in private discourse with her

Hip. No Ile backe agen, I ha not eaten today, and I dare not looke upon an honest woman fasting, tis ominous, and we have too many fishdayes already, if the Duke aske for me make some excuse,

Co. I owe my preferment to you, and you may challenge my services,
(sig. B3v)

There are several possible reasons for the exclusion of this section from the Restoration production. Firstly, it adds little to the plot, since Eubella's brother is not a major character. It acts as a 'stalling passage', since, as the Courtier points out, he and Hippolito are awaiting the arrival of the Duke and Eubella. Additionally, the exchange makes little sense after the cut of the previous section, which discusses the promotions given to Eubella's father and her own potential rise to power, if she were to become the Duke's mistress. This might be taken as an awkward reflection on Charles's treatment of Barbara Villiers's family. Secondly, the mention of almanacs is omitted. It is important to note that

this passage was not cut all at once: hand B had cut the phrase ‘and we have too many fishdayes already’, before hand A deleted the entire passage.³⁹⁸ Why might the reference to fish days have struck the first editor as a phrase needing to be cut, even before the larger problems with the dialogue were addressed by the second editor?

Although their origin was in the Catholic liturgical tradition, Protestant England (and Scotland) retained days weekly for fasting from red meat, as well as throughout Lent, from the Reformation and well into the seventeenth century. This was not least in order to support the English fishing industry, and naval force, and to give livestock a break from slaughter during the crucial lambing season (which coincided with Lent). While he was king of Scotland, James VI issued a proclamation requiring fasting from flesh (but consuming fish) on all Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays, as well as Lent. ‘Lip service continued to be paid to [these orders] until the 1630s, and there was even an ineffectual attempt to revive them after the Restoration.’³⁹⁹ The presence of this line in a play composed in 1631, and its survival in the 1640 imprint reflects the continued controversy over fasting – and Lenten theatre closures – in the Caroline period. Its exclusion from the Restoration production could indicate either that the practice had by then fallen out of normal habit, or that the editor supported the ‘ineffectual’ attempt to revive the practice in the Restoration. In 1685, a publication entitled *A collection of such statutes as are now in force and made in the reigns of K. Ed. 6, Queen Eliz., K. James 1st, & K. Charles the 1st which enjoyn the observation of Lent, and other fish days throughout the year, with the*

³⁹⁸ The 1548 proclamation ‘purposely intended and meant politikelly for th’increase of Fishermen and Mariners ... and not for Any Superstition’, quoted in Alec Ryrie ‘The Fall and Rise of Fasting in the British Reformations’, in Natalie Mears and Alec Ryrie, *Worship and the Parish Church in Early-Modern Britain* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013), p. 104.

³⁹⁹ Ryrie, ‘Fasting’, p. 105.

reasons for enjoyning the same affirmed that the law still demanded that Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays be retained as 'fishdays':

Note, that all the time of *Lent*, and every Vigil (or Holy-day-eve) and every *Friday*, and *Saturday*, except *Christmas Day* falls thereon) and the Ember days throughout the whole Year, were usually observed by the Laws and Customs of the Realm, as Fishdays, which is proved by the preamble of the Statute.... Every *Wednesday* in the Year, (which shall not happen to fal[l] in *Christmas* or *Easter* week) is limited [...] be observed as a Fish day on which day [...] manner of Person shall eat Flesh, otherwis[e] then ought to be on the Common *Saturday*.⁴⁰⁰

As well as these regular fast days, which were difficult to police or enforce, special fasts were held to support particular causes or in response to national crises (including the Spanish Armada, and the beginning of the thirty years' war).⁴⁰¹ In 1603, for example, a public fast was called in England during the plague outbreak.⁴⁰²

Charles I called for national fasting many times during his rule, beginning with another plague epidemic in 1625, the year of his accession, and repeated in 1626, 1628, 1629, 1636 and 1637. Thus, the play was written following two consecutive years of national fasts, and more were held in the years between the play's performance and publication. Since plague seemed to call for national fasting, and also often led to the temporary closure of the theatres, Shirley may have had particular cause to have his character lament,

⁴⁰⁰ p. 8.

⁴⁰¹ Ryrie, p. 98-99.

⁴⁰² Recorded in *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, edited by Dorothy M. Meades (London, 1930), pp. 206-7, 213. Quoted in Ryrie, p. 99.

‘we have too many fishdays already’.⁴⁰³ In 1631, the year of the play’s first production, Henry Scudder published *The Christians Daily Wake*, which included a substantial section on fasting.⁴⁰⁴ In 1636, William Prynne denounced the new Laudian order for public fasting during plague.⁴⁰⁵ Whether people actually observed fish days is harder to determine, the diary of Lady Anne Clifford suggesting that lapses occurred, but that she felt sufficiently guilty to resolve to mend her ways. Puritanical commentators favoured the practice on the additional grounds that it supported English naval and farming interests.

In the years that followed, the fasts took on new meanings, as ‘[d]uring the Civil War and Interregnum, public fasts became routine, with Parliament enforcing monthly fasts, and ... Royalists also choosing to fast monthly, on a different day, throughout the Civil War’.⁴⁰⁶ A second reference to fasting is cut from Act Two:

Hi. ... bou’t I may do somewhat, ith meane time let me Counsell you, to let her feed high, shee’le never fall low enough else, she must be dieted, if you let her pick her sallets, you may fast another Lent, and all our paines be not worth an egge at Easter.

⁴⁰³ Henry Burton links fasting causing changes in the weather in *Israels Fast. Or a Meditation upon the Seventh Chapter of Joshua* (London, 1628), p. 15, quoted in Ryrie, ‘Fasting’, p. 102.

⁴⁰⁴ Henry Scudder, *The Christians Daily Wake* (London, 1631), pp. 68-146, noted in Ryrie, ‘Fasting’, p. 100.

⁴⁰⁵ William Prynne, *Newes from Ipswich discovering certaine late detestable practises of some domineering lordly prelates, to undermine the established doctrine and discipline of our church* (Ipswich, 1636)

⁴⁰⁶ Ryrie, p. 100.

Officially, Protestant doctrine did not recognise Easter, a popish festivity. This passage is also using food and fasting as a sexual metaphor, which may be the reason for its exclusion, rather than the fact that the issue was no longer topical.

'I am no Princess yow shall see': *The Sisters*

Having examined the missing passages from the 1660 edition of *The Grateful Servant*, as well as the promptbooks of *Love's Cruelty*, it should come as no surprise that bawdry is deleted from *The Sisters* as well. Langhans suggests that the cuts marked in the promptbook simply reduce the play's length and cast size, 'rather than for prudish reasons'. The pattern of cutting follows a distinctly similar pattern to that identified above: sinful behaviour that is duly punished and is clearly not approved of by the majority of the other characters is allowed to stand, but sexual jokes that cannot be neutered by their context are struck out. With this in mind, we can discern the rationale behind a couplet that is added in manuscript to Paulina's speech at the end of Act Two.

Paulina is heiress to 'old Vincenzo' with a reputation as 'the famous, proud Paulina' (p. 5). 'As the play's title suggests, her haughty temper is contrasted by her younger sister's sweeter nature, and the pair's uncle, Antonio, has more fondness for the latter. In a plot twist not dissimilar to that of *The Court Secret*, it transpires that Paulina is not the real heiress, but an imposter, substituted by the nurse as a baby to conceal the death of the real Paulina. The sweeter-natured Angellina is therefore recognized at the true heiress, whose noble blood has, as it always does in the Shirleian universe, led her to behave impeccably in spite of adverse circumstances. The meaner nature of the imposter Paulina caused her to act as tyrant. What is particularly interesting about the added couplet in the promptbook, is that it is the only indication that Paulina was aware of her situation. In the original, the first time

Paulina apparently hears of her true parentage is Antonio's revelation at the end of Act Five:

News news, excellent news; I shall leap out of my flesh for joy... *Paulina* is not my Neece, no blood of mine; Where is this Lady and her Pagent Prince? The Truth is she is not *Paulina* but their daughter ... Whom she obtruded on our family When our *Paulina* died an infant, with her, A nurse to both (p. 57)

Antonio is delighted, but not surprised by the news, commenting 'I knew she was a Bastard or a Changeling' (p. 57). Although Antonio claims at this point to have suspected all along, in fact he never says so, although Shirley creates many opportunities for dramatic irony in hindsight. One of Paulina's servants, for example, suggests that she 'may be of kin to Lucifer for pride'. Antonio asks her repeatedly (in an attempt to demand respect from her) 'am I not your uncle?' (p. 7), and is never given a direct answer. Instead, Paulina responds, 'I do remember Sir, I called you so, while you preserv'd your wits' (p. 7). This clever use of language paves the way for the couplet added in manuscript to Act Two, in which Paulina makes it explicit that she knows she is a cuckoo in the nest and set to inherit a crown not rightfully hers:

For thought I am no Princess yow shall se
Such state that Princes born shall learn of me. (p. 20)

These manuscript lines in the promptbook are Paulina's only admission that she is not a Princess by blood.

A further alteration to the plot picks up on this change, now that Paulina is a confirmed, deliberate sinner, and not a possible victim of deception (not to mention parental abandonment), poetic justice demands that she be duly

punished. In the original printed text, after Paulina is exposed as a fraud, Angellina shows sisterly pity at the moment the imposter and her parents are to leave the court and decides to provide for her. When Farnese tells Frapolo (Paulina's natural father) that he can be confined to the Castle, rather than imprisoned, he proudly asserts that he needs the opportunity to work to earn a living for his offspring:

Fra. Tis some mercy; but
 I shall be getting Children, and two nothings
 Wo'not maintain a Family 'twere as good
 To hang me out o'th'way, 'ere charge come on
 Or take away my tools, I shall be working.
Far. Provision shall be made you shall not starve
 Nor Surfeit, sir.
Ang. Because I call'd her sister, I will contribute something to their
 fortune.
Far. What thy own goodness will direct. (pp. 58-9)

In the promptbook, this line 'ere charge come on/ Or take away my tools,' is clearly marked for deletion by being crossed out, but the phrase 'I shall be working' to the end of the above-quoted conversation all appears in a faintly-drawn box, indicating that perhaps all of the above was intended for deletion. In this case, Frapolo is made to appear peculiarly ungrateful for the mercy he has been shown, and Angellina and Farnese do not show generosity towards Paulina and her family.

If that change caused any danger of making the audience pity Paulina, however, a final couplet added to the promptbook in manuscript assures them that they need not:

Though my state be gone, some rule ile have
 For him I married I will make my slave.

These two additional lines succinctly suggest that Paulina has learned nothing, that she will remain every bit as haughty and proud as she was at the beginning of the play, regardless of her exposure and fall from a great height. Her declaration that she will make her husband her slave also suggests that she is not intending to conform as expected to gender roles. It is interesting that the editor has taken the trouble to amend one word, as if to make this clear. When Farnese refers to Paulina as 'that Gentlewoman', the word is struck out and replaced with 'your wife' (p 57), as if the editor was bound to make clear that this is no Gentlewoman. Once again, a binary is established between two types of woman, we see a similar binary in many Restoration dramas, including, famously, between Lyndaraxa and Alimahide in Dryden's *The Conquest of Granada*.

The Maid's Revenge

The Maid's Revenge was first licensed for production on 9 February 1626, by Queen Henrietta's Men. The title page of the only known imprint, a 1639 quarto, indicates that 'it hath beene Acted with good Applause at the private house in *Drury Lane*, by her Majesties Servants.' The edition was prepared in haste and is full of mistakes. A copy found at Harvard contains manuscript notes that are clearly the work of the prompter for the King's Company, under Killigrew's management, in the main, noting character entrances thirty lines beforehand and readying the stage hands and musicians at the end of the act.⁴⁰⁷ The dates of performances after the Restoration have

⁴⁰⁷ The prompter was not interested in correcting errors in the dialogue where cues and entrances are unaffected – this was probably left up to the actors, who, as Tiffany Stern notes, did not necessarily learn lines with much accuracy, but improvised around the general

not been recorded (indeed *The London Stage* does not mention the play at all). However, it is clear from the existence of the prompt copy that a Restoration performance of the play occurred. The promptbook is reproduced in full by Edward Langhans, who conjectures, based on the names of the cast members given in the prompter's notes, that the production took place at the Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre in the 1673-4 season.⁴⁰⁸ The play was adapted by Robert Gould into *The Rival Sisters*, which opened at Drury Lane in 1696.⁴⁰⁹

Some of the cuts are quite subtle and careful, striking out just one letter when necessary, as in the conversion of Antonio's line 'It will become me thus to waite on you' to 'I will waite on you' (sig. C). This makes him more direct, rather less stylised in his speech, but it also very nearly brings two lines together into a single line of iambic pentameter. The previous line is 'Please you walke sir', four syllables which, added to the five-syllable line, comes up one short of the required ten, but much closer than previously, and hinting at a rapid exchange showing rapport between the characters. There have been jokes earlier in the scene about poetic metre, which are left in although they

storyline, at least in the early days of a run. *Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan*, pp. 143-44. Aphra Behn complained about actors 'improving' rather than speaking their lines. In one case, actors went so far as cutting a whole scene from the *Widow Ranter* (quoted in Wiseman, *Drama and Politics*, pp. 93 and 100).

⁴⁰⁸ Langhans, *Restoration Promptbooks*, p. 35.

⁴⁰⁹ A manuscript marking at the top of the Harvard prompt copy notes 'Rival Sisters printed A[nno] 1696. [?Ye] grammar [ye drama?] only altered.' Robert Gould's *Rival Sisters* shares many characters and plot points with *The Maid's Revenge*. Forsythe claims that *The Rival Sisters* was based on the same source as *The Maid's Revenge*, rather than on the play itself. He does not, however, give any evidence for his supposition of a mutual source or *ur-text*, and does not suggest a candidate. This is an interesting problem, in light of Gould's scathing rhyme about Shirley (quoted in chapter ten, below). Gould's prefatory dedication (to James, Earl of Abingdon) implies that he chose to rewrite Shirley's play in order to prove to himself and to others that he could do better: 'This play... was, at first, only meant as a private Tryal to my self, of what I cou'd do in this kind of peosie'.

are not strictly necessary, and lines around them (even within the same speech) are heavily cut – so the editor must have had some awareness of rhythm. Similarly in the strategic cutting to this speech (cut lines indicated in square brackets), the rhythm is almost preserved, but for a stray syllable:

He's gracious with her father, and a friend
 [Dear as his bosom,] to Sebastiano
 [And may be directed by that brother]
 [To aime at honor] if he make free choyce,
 Berinthias beauty will draw up his soule.

The line which remains, a fusion of two lines, works curiously well in iambic pentameter, even though it contains two extra syllables (depending on how the speaker pronounces Sebastiano) three unstressed syllables seem to fall together in the middle of the line, but these can easily be 'thrown away' by the actor, and emphasis falls quite naturally onto 'if', 'make' and 'choice', so that rhythmically, the line scans well.

- / - / -- - / - / - /
 to Sebastiano, or if he make free choice'

It may be simply the editor's good fortune that the words he wanted to retain, and which made sense, 'He's gracious with her father, and a friend / to Sebastiano, or if he make free choice' roughly added up to a line of iambic pentameter, but taken together with other metre-improving cuts supports the assertion that rhythm was in the mind of the editor.

Whose hand?

The prompt copy of *The Maid's Revenge* may have belonged at some point to Rebecca Marshall, who played Berinthia, as well as being used by the prompter, since most of Berinthia's lines are marked with faint dashes in the margin. Langhans does not think that the prompter's notes and the cuts to the dialogue are in the same hand; he sees three hands at work in this text. Thus, before being used by Rebecca Marshall, it was edited by Killigrew, or Shirley, to shorten and update the text. The editorial work shows a similar bias to the one at work in Restoration editions of Shirley's plays.⁴¹⁰ It is possible that Shirley was invited by Killigrew to present his plays to the company, who would decide whether to rehearse and perform them. The actor Colley Cibber recalled:

When [Dryden] brought his Play of *Amphytdon* to the Stage, I heard him give it his first Reading to the Actors, in which, though it is true he deliver'd the plain Sense of every Period, yet the whole was in so cold, so flat, and unaffected a manner, that I am afraid of not being believ'd when I affirm it.

On the contrary, Lee, far his inferior in Poetry, was so pathetick a Reader of his own Scenes, that I have been inform'd by an Actor who was present, that while Lee was reading to Major Mohun at a Rehearsal, Mohun, in the Warmth of his Admiration, threw down his Part and said, Unless I were able to play it as well as you read it, to what purpose should I undertake it?⁴¹¹

⁴¹⁰ It is referring to this play that Langhans writes 'A number of cuts were made in the text, most of them designed to shorten the play and delete some of the flowery language'. Langhans, *Restoration Promptbooks*, p. 36.

⁴¹¹ Robert W. Lowe (ed.) *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber* (London: Charles Whittingham and Co., 1889) pp. 113-4.

If Dryden and Nathaniel Lee were in the habit of appearing in front of the actors to present them with a first reading, it may be that Shirley did the same, and made notes on his copy of the play.

Cibber's memoir gives some clues as to the agenda underpinning the alterations to the scripts. Firstly, the likelihood of pleasing at court was still a motivating impulse for the theatre companies:

Delight and Concern of the Court, that they were not only supported by its being frequently present at their public Presentations, but by its taking cognizance even of their private Government, insomuch that their particular Differences, Pretentions, or Complaints were generally ended by the King or Duke Personal Command or Decision. (p. 89)

Although Restoration audiences have been shown to be more varied in social composition than has generally been supposed, it seems clear from Cibber's hint that Shirley's tendency to write plays that would appeal to the refined manners and Neoplatonic value systems of Henrietta Maria's circle would have made them an asset to Restoration repertoire.⁴¹² Cibber notes, when reflecting on his schooling, that:

But it was, then, a sort of School-Doctrine to regard our Monarch [Charles II] as a Deity; as in the former Reign it was to insist he was accountable to this World as well as to that above him. (p. 30)

The pro-monarchical ideology in Shirley's plays, most evident perhaps in *The Court Secret*, with its emphasis on the intrinsic moral worth of characters with

⁴¹² Harold Love, 'Who Were the Restoration Audience?' *Yearbook of English Studies*, 10 (1980), 21-44

noble blood, would also clearly suit the taste of the generation raising its children with these values (Cibber was born in 1671; the revival of *The Court Secret* was in 1664).

Secondly, Cibber reflects on the distaste for awkwardly elaborate dialogue:

In what Raptures have I seen an Audience at the furious Fustian and turgid Rants in Nat. Lee's *Alexander The Great*! For though I can allow this Play a few great Beauties, yet it is not without its extravagant Blemishes. (p. 105)

Cibber suggests that it was down to the talent of the actor delivering it that the play, Nathaniel Lee's *Alexander the Great*, became popular:

When these flowing Numbers came from the Mouth of a Betterton the Multitude no more desired Sense to them than our musical Connoisseurs think it essential in the celebrated Airs of an Italian Opera. Does not this prove that there is very near as much Enchantment in the well govern'd Voice of an Actor as in the sweet Pipe of an Eunuch? If I tell you there was no one Tragedy, for many Years, more in favour with the Town than *Alexander*, to what must we impute this its command of publick Admiration? Not to its intrinsick Merit, surely, if it swarms with passages like this I have shewn you! (p. 106)

Cibber's editor, Robert Lowe, writing in 1899 disagrees profoundly with his assessment of Lee's verse in a footnote.⁴¹³ But Cibber's condemnation on the grounds that Lee's verse is excessively elaborate is in keeping with the literary values of his time. It is the same inclination towards plainness of speech that

⁴¹³ Lowe, ed., *Colley Cibber*, p. 106.

drives the editorial work in the Restoration promptbooks and editions of Shirley's dramas.

Finally, as we have seen in chapter two, a degree of prudery on the part of the editor is clear in the manuscript markings. Cibber notes, in particular, the high value placed on chastity:

Even the Suspicion of being vain ought as much to be dreaded as the Guilt itself. Caesar was of the same Opinion in regard to his Wife's Chastity. Praise, tho' it may be our due, is not like a Bank-Bill, to be paid upon Demand; to be valuable it must be voluntary. (p. 34)

Strict attitudes to female sexuality were reinforced in Restoration drama, as has been noted in relation to the editing in the manuscript of *The Court Secret*, but also *The Grateful Servant*, and it will be seen in chapter nine in *The Traitor* and Davenant's *The Law Against Lovers*.

'Actions worthy our name and family'

The first marking, on the first page of the promptbook of *The Maid's Revenge*, is somewhat unclear, but apparently cuts Antonio's speech from the last two words of the penultimate line, and the first four lines on the following page, so that this is removed:

couldst thou
Vnite into one, all goodnesse whatsoe're
Mortality can boast of, thou shalt finde,
The circle narrow bounded to containe
This swelling treasure; every good admits
Degrees, but this being so good, it cannot

For he's no friend is not superlative.

The next three markings strike directly through the lines, so we can be more certain that these are cuts (though there seems little doubt over the above). The struck-out lines read 'tied/ By the naturall flow of blood, alliance'; 'they execute / At best, but what a nature prompts e'm to'; and 'Our kinsmen still, but'. As a result, the speech as it is left would read:

What? take heede, do not prophane:
 Wouldst thou be more then friend? It is a name,
 Vertue can onely answer to.
 Indulgent parents, brethren, kindred,
 And what you can imagine, is to light,
 to weigh with name of friend
 Are often lesse then friends, when they remaine
 friend is never lost.

Although clumsily phrased compared with the original, the sense of the passage still does come across: parents, brethren, kindred are all light in comparison with the weight of friendship. The material that is cut is perhaps simply 'flowery' as Langhans puts it, but the struck out lines are those that question the validity of blood lines, and this, of course, suggests that the political change was influencing the editor at least as much as stylistic development. The shortened speech emphasises the importance of friendship over familial ties, but removes the explicit comparison with 'the natural flow of blood' and 'nature', which are found wanting and insignificant. Another cut in the first act also has to do with heredity: talking to Sebastiano, he swears on his ancestors' tombs.

Vila [Gaspar] Now by the tomb of my progenitors,

I envied, that your fame should visit me
So oft without your person.

Ancestry is mentioned again in the same conversation, where a longer cut is made to Gaspar's speech:

Vilenzo

Was once as you are sprightly, and though I say it
Maintaind my father's reputation,
And honour of our house with actions
Worthy our name and family, but now
Time hath let fall cold snow upon my haire,
Ploughed on my browes the furrowes of his anger,
Disfurnished me of active blood, and wrapt me
Halfe in my feare cloth, yet I have minde
That bids me honour vertue, where I see it
Bud forth and spring so hopefully.⁴¹⁴

Antonio's response continues on the same theme, and is also shortened, with the following words removed:

and encourage me
To spend the greenenesse of my rising years
So to advantage, that at last I may
Be old like you.

⁴¹⁴ Cartwright died in 1686. There is a portrait of him in the Harvard theatre collection, see Highfill, Burnim and Langhans, vol 3, p. 90. He played Sir Jasper Fidget in *The Country Wife*. Cartwright stopped acting about 1681, so this is the latest possible date for the prompt copy, though it is likely to be much earlier.

This particular cut can be made sense of simply by looking at the casting of the production. William Cartwright was born in 1606 and therefore would have been in his late sixties playing this role, old enough to have grey hair and wrinkles. The joke above only works if the relative ages of the actors makes it ironic. This line was probably removed because Cartwright was too old for it to be funny.

The second cut is to a speech of Gaspar's, regarding suitable matches for his daughters.

but they are two such Jewels,
I must dispose maturely, I should else
Returne ingratitude upon the heavens
For leaving me such pledges, nor am I,
Like other fathers carried with the streame
Of love toth youngest, as they were in birth
They had my tendernes, *Catalina* then
Is eldest in my care, *Berinthia*
Her child's part too, both are fair and vertuous;
But daughters are held losses to a family,
Sonne's onely to maintaine honour and stemme
Alive in their posterity, and now I think on't

Much of the information given in this speech is made clear elsewhere in the play. Antonio has already named the sisters, Catalina and Berinthia, and Gaspar makes clear that Catalina is the eldest much more succinctly when she enters a few lines later by referring to her as 'my eldest daughter'. The only loss then, is the suggestion that Gaspar favours Catalina, as the elder daughter, and that he adheres to the view that daughters are 'losses to a family'. The resultant speech reads:

Catalina and Berinthia are stars
 Direct them [the suitors] hither, Gaspars house shall give
 Respect to all,
 My sonne Sebastian hath been slow
 In his returne from Lisbone, oh that boy
 Renewes my age with hope, and hath returnd
 May care in education, weight for weight
 With noble quality,

Gaspar's daughters are given similar treatment to the ladies in *The Court Secret*, i.e. made to adhere more closely to strict codes of virtue. It is presumably in this spirit that the Count's accusation that his betrothed, Catalina, was too pleased to greet the new arrival to Court, Antonio:

Count: ... she never gave me such a reverence
 For all the kisses I have bestowed on her since
 First opened my affection.

This jealous accusation is struck out in the promptbook. Similarly, the Count's continued musing over whether Catalina was too quick to accept Antonio's arm is cut short:

Count. And yet now I thinke on't, he was very sawcy
 With my love to support her arme, which she
 Accepted too familiarly, [and she should
 But love him, it were as bad for me, for tho he came
 Not for her, I am sure she will never abide me after it,]
 By this hilts I must kill him, there's no remedy,
 I cannot helpe it. (sig. cv)

The edit here makes the Count much more decisive; it removes his contemplation over deciding to murder Antonio, and turns a crime borne out of wounded feelings and self-love ('bad for me'), into something like an honour killing, by moving straight from 'she / Accepted [his arm] too familiarly' to 'By this hilts [*sic.*] I must kill him'. In the short version, it is as if the murder is to spare her family's reputation from the shame that would follow from her over-familiar, flirtatious physical contact with a man. This is very much in tune with plays in the Spanish romance genre, in which reputation and honour are everything.⁴¹⁵ This promptbook, if the date of 1673-4 is correct, is a rather late example of such a change, since the vogue for Spanish romance had flourished a decade earlier, but the fashion left a lasting impression and emphasis on female honour which remained a staple of Restoration drama for a long time. It may also be that the promptbook – or even that particular edit – is earlier than Langhans supposes. Even if the actor names suggest a later date for the production, it must be remembered that the cuts are not made in the same hand as the prompter's markings. Perhaps even Shirley had made them in hopes of an earlier production, but did not live to see it take place.

A reference to Berinthia blushing is excised from a speech made by Antonio:

her cheeks bewraying
 As many amorous blushings, which broke out
 Like a forc'd lightning from a troubled cloud,
 Discovering a restraint, as if within
 She were at conflict, which her colour onely
 Tooke liberty to speake, but soone fell backe,
 And it were checkt by silence. (sig. Cv)

⁴¹⁵ This is discussed in detail in chapter five, above.

In the promptbook, the speech closes with confirmation that she is in love with Antonio: 'From whose faire eyes love threw a thousand flames / Into Antonio's heart'. This cut removes an account of Berinthia as sexually wanton, in conflict with herself and blushing in shame. The speech makes a clear insinuation that Berinthia has been having impure thoughts, i.e. she becomes less nuanced by being presented as less guilt-ridden.

These subtle changes produce intriguing results, bringing the character of Berinthia closer to a 'fallen-woman' archetype, in much the same way that we saw with Clariana in the promptbook of *Love's Cruelty* at the beginning of this chapter. By removing some of the actress's opportunities to gain empathy from the audience by shortening some of her longer speeches and altering some of things other characters say about her, the Restoration version brings Clariana's self-assessment: 'My soule is full of shame and tears', into sharper focus. The same is true of Berinthia; in both cases, the process of shortening the role reduces the moral complexity of the female in question. While it might be possible to interpret the changes to the female characters as co-incidental to arbitrary choices to reduce longer speeches, the nature of the editing is careful and deliberate. In the case of *The Sisters*, the contrast between the two female protagonists is made clearer via the *addition* of a line, which cannot be explained away in the same way. It seems far more likely that the changes were conscious and were influenced by the transition from boy actors to female actors interpreting the roles.

Chapter 9: Malone 253 - The Promptbooks of *The Ball* and *The Witty Fair One*

Bertram Joseph found the promptbook of *The Witty Fair One* within a bound copy of *Six New Playes* in the Malone collection, in the Bodleian library (Mal. 253 [9]) in 1949.⁴¹⁶ He published a short article on it, but apparently did not notice the markings in *The Ball* in the same volume, which Dana McKinnen discovered in 1966.⁴¹⁷ The consequence of these separate discoveries is that the relationship between the two promptbooks has not been considered in the scholarship.⁴¹⁸ The circumstances of their survival are intriguing and the time is ripe for a re-examination of Malone 253.

The notes in *The Witty Fair One* specify neither the company nor the date when the manuscript notes were written. The names of the actors are not given, which would help to establish both the company and date, by cross-checking known company membership. The pages are damaged; it has a dark mark that shows on Hv and H2r, and an inky stain on H3 at the bottom right corner. This evidence of wear suggests that the text was actually used. Langhans guesses that promptbook relates to a production by the Duke's Company that took place in 1666-7.⁴¹⁹ If Langhans is correct, the promptbook is a unique record of a Duke's Company production of a Shirley play. As noted above, Davenant and Shirley may have had a mutual personal dislike, fueled by their

⁴¹⁶ McKinnen, 'Description'.

⁴¹⁷ Bertram Joseph, 'Stage Directions in a Seventeenth-Century copy of Shirley', *Theatre Notebook* 3 (1949), 66-7; McKinnen, 'Description' (1971), 25-28.

⁴¹⁸ Even Edward Langhans, who includes a full facsimile of *The Witty Fair One* and a description of *The Ball* in his anthology, discusses the two plays in separate chapters and does not grapple with the interesting question of their provenance and relationship to one another. Langhans, *Restoration Promptbooks*, pp. xvi, 19-23, 43, 77-81, 42-4, 77-81, 261-94.

⁴¹⁹ Langhans, suggests that Downes 'may have prepared' the promptbook, 'with the help of colleagues'. *Restoration Promptbooks*, p. 43.

competition over the poet laureateship. After their deaths, Davenant's successors produced four of Shirley's plays, and Downes suggests that each of these was successful. This data invites reassessment of Hume's analysis, published before the discovery of the promptbooks in Malone 253, that 'Shirley's *The Witty Fair One* (1628), *Hyde Park* (1632), and *The Lady of Pleasure* (1635) ... had no vogue on the Restoration stage'.⁴²⁰ Martin Butler also found the play to be markedly different from Restoration drama in its distinctly Caroline sympathy 'for the outlook and attitudes of the country'.⁴²¹ *The Ball* was first licensed for the Queen's Men on 16 November 1632. The first imprint, made in 1639, confirms that the play 'was presented by her majesties servants, at the private house at Drury Lane'.⁴²² McKinnen claimed that the play 'enjoyed an extended stage history' owing to its similarity to the 'typical Restoration comedy of manners'.⁴²³ Bentley, however, suggests 'probably the play was popular only so long as the special interest in the new social fad of the Ball

⁴²⁰ Robert D. Hume, 'Diversity and Development in Restoration Comedy 1660-1679' *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 5.3 (1972), 365-97, p. 367; Bernard Harris, "The Dialect of Those Fanatic Times," *Restoration Theatre*, p. 21.

⁴²¹ Martin Butler writes that 'This sympathy is made explicit in Shirley's *The Witty Fair One* (London, 1633),... The heroine's social placing is very carefully detailed:

Her father is a man who though he write
Himselfe but Knight, keepes a warme house i'the Countrey
... and all this
His daughter is an heyre to ... (sig.B3r)

Sir George Richley, described here, typifies the traditional country values – conservative, hospitable, plain yet wealthy, knowing his place yet independent of the court... contrasted with Treedle who lacks love for his servants, pursues foreign fashions and is 'a Knight and no Gentleman' (sig. K). Although Richley opposes his daughter's match, the play exhibits considerable respect for the attitudes represented in this speech.' *Theatre and Crisis 1632-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 163-4.

⁴²² James Shirley, *The Ball: A Comedy, As it was Presented by Her Majesties Servants, at the Private House in Drury Lane. Written by George Chapman and James Shirley* (London: Printed for Andrew Crooke, and William Cooke, 1639).

⁴²³ McKinnen, 1971, p. 25

lasted.⁴²⁴ Malone 253 provides an opportunity to reconsider transitions in values between Caroline and Restoration city comedies because it captures the process of adapting two of Shirley's city comedies for a Restoration audience.

Some explanations for the same printed edition containing prompter's markings apparently from the two rival companies ought to be considered. The two promptbooks may have been separate entities some point, and bound together at a later date, i.e. either they came from two separate copies of *Six New Plays* or one copy was broken into its composite parts while it was in use in the theatres and then reassembled. While not impossible, this scenario is deeply unlikely. Another possibility is that the rivalry between the two companies was not as bitter or unfriendly as we might suppose, and the companies shared resources. The hand in the promptbook of *The Witty Fair One* matches that of John Downes, and play is mentioned in his memoir as one the Duke's Company staged after 1666, though he does not give the date of the performance.⁴²⁵ Finally, and the most likely scenario, the copy of *Six New Plays* may have passed into the hands of the Duke's Company after the King's Company ceased performing *The Ball*, leaving the Duke's Company able to make use of one of the plays the King's Company had not revived. No specific record of a performance of *The Ball* at this time survives.⁴²⁶ *The Ball* apparently outlasted its original context only by one generation. The survival of the promptbook suggests that the play was dropped from repertoire along with the other Shirley plays, shortly after his death. However, the markings bear close attention.

The manuscript notes in *The Witty Fair One* are clearly those that would have been made by a prompter, but they differ in style from those in the King's Company promptbooks. Calls for actors are marked in pencil, twenty lines or so

⁴²⁴ Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Drama*, vol. 5.

⁴²⁵ Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus* p. 60.

⁴²⁶ Langhans, *Restoration Promptbooks*, p. 42. Prompt copy (Bodleian Mal 253).

before entrances (closer than in King's Company promptbooks, which place calls thirty or thirty five lines before entrances). The notes are very faint, but mostly legible.⁴²⁷ 'ACT' is written in pencil before the end of each act, usually on the previous page. 'Scene' in pen thirty lines before scene changes, followed by the name of the scene required - 'garden', 'town', 'chamber'. The end of the act is often, Langhans notes, marked in promptbooks with the word 'Ring', signifying that a bell should be rung to cue 'actors, scene shifters, and musicians (if there was any entr'acte music)'. In this promptbook the acts are all 'warned but not cued'. Langhans goes on to point out that the Duke's company promptbooks never use the circle and dot symbol to cue a whistle, saying 'it is possible that some other signal was used.'⁴²⁸ The need for large stage properties is also noted. It also corrects names that were misprinted in the Quarto.⁴²⁹

Joseph contends that 'The notes in pencil appear to be written by a person less well educated than the author of those in ink: nevertheless, they are Complimentary in their intention, and, taken together, would have provided for a simple, coherent performance'.⁴³⁰ He concludes that notes 'show a knowledge of staging, and apparently of mid-seventeenth-century methods of scene-changing, enabling a swift transformation to be effected without holding up performance', but nonetheless argues that the marginalia do not prove that the

⁴²⁷ One illegible pencil note, the beginning of which has been cropped, appears at Bostock's exit in 3.2 ('Never was witch so tortur'd). Yet another, note, next to Lucina's line, 'I am sorry...' (Sig. G4v).

⁴²⁸ Langhans, *Restoration Promptbooks*, p. 269.

⁴²⁹ Two minor characters, Steven and Lamount, are misnamed in Act Four. Langhans suggests that the inconsistency indicates that the 1639 quarto was set from a Caroline prompt copy, and that the names of the actors have been transferred into the printed play instead of the character names. The promptbook also contains crosses in the *dramatis personae* before the names Sir George, Mr. Worthy, Mr. Aymwell, Sir Nicholas, Tutor, Braines and Winifride, ticks appear before Mr. Clare and Mr. Manly, and vertical lines beside Violetta and Sensible. The reason for these marks is not apparent.

⁴³⁰ Joseph, 'Stage-Directions', p. 67.

play was prepared for public, or even private, performance.⁴³¹ However, given that Downes does record this as a play in the Duke's Company repertoire, and that, as Joseph acknowledges, the markings demonstrate a working knowledge of theatrical practice, it is a reasonable assumption that the production did take place.⁴³² Having noted in chapter five that two hands consistent with Shirley and Killigrew's are at work in the Worcester manuscript of *The Court Secret*, let us examine the hypothesis that the two hands in the marginalia in Malone 253 are those of the same two dramatuges. A scene plot for each play, based on the prompter's markings, is given in figures 4 and 5, below.⁴³³

⁴³¹ Joseph, 'Stage-Directions', p. 67.

⁴³² Generally, the prompter's notes are sound, and practical. Entrances for Sir Marmaduke and Sir Ambrose are added to sig. I4 above the entrance of Sir Stephen and Sir Lionell, consistent with prompts on the previous page, where they were missing from the original imprint. Often the manuscript corrects omissions in the printed text, making the movement of bodies on and off stage clearer: on Sig I2 a missing speech prefix, 'Lo', is added to 'You cannot otherwise be reconcil'd', and on the same page a pencil note adds 'Luci' to list of prompts for 'Ld Rainbow, Coronell and Bostock' in ink above. The notations are in three hands: hand a wrote "chamber" at the beginning of III.iii and "ready" and is characterised by a distinctive 'r'. Hand b is responsible for the other notations, and 'has some similarities with one of the hands in the Kings Company Restoration Promptbook of *The Sisters*, but no definite identification can be made'. Blakemore Evans has identified the hand of *The Sisters* to be the same as that of hand a in the 'Nursery' *Comedy of Errors* promptbook, a fairly consistent Italian hand with occasional secretary 'e's. *Shakespearean Promptbooks*, vol. 1, General Introduction. Hand c is a much later one. Clarifies 'martheme' as 'Match Me in London by Dekker' in the margin. sig H4 (V.i.59) and notes 'to show boys this A New Wonder', referring to the same trope of the wedding ring found inside a fish in Rowley's *A New Wonder, a Woman Never Vext*, also printed in 1632 (sig I).

⁴³³ These scene plots are deliberately modeled on those given by Keenan at www.restorationstaging.com, to facilitate comparison between these Restoration adaptations of Shirelya and the new plays staged in the same theatres at the same times by the same companies that Keenan has provided scene plots for.

Figure 4: Scene Plot for *The Witty Fair One*, James Shirley. First performed 1633 Queen's Men, Phoenix, Drury Lane.

Undated Promptbook found in Bodleian Library, Oxford, Malone 253

Text ref	Scene heading / Opening stage direction	Location	Scene	MS Notes
1.1 sig. B	<i>Enter Sir George Richly, Master Worthy, Whibble a servant</i>	Worthy's house	Garden	SCENE: GARD[EN]
2.1 sig. C3	<i>Enter Sir Nicholas Treedle, and a Servant.'</i>	Treedle's house	Downstairs chamber	Cham[ber]
2.2 sig. C3	<i>Enter Braines, Whibble</i>	Worthy's house	Garden	Scene Garden
3.1. sig. E	While the Musicke is playing enter Breynes without his shooes with a Letter in his hand	Worthy's house	Violetta's Chambe	CHAMBER
3.2 sig. E3	<i>Enter Mr Aymwell with a letter</i>	Town	Town	Town
3.3 sig. E4v	<i>Enter Master Fowler, Manly like his physitian</i>	Fowler's house	Chamber with a bed	Scene Chamber with a bed
4.1 sig. F4v	<i>Enter Aymwell and Sensible</i>	Town	Town	ACT Towne
4.2 sig. Gv	<i>Enter Violetta, Tutor</i>	Worthy's house	Violetta's chamber	Scene Chamber
4.3 sig. G2v	<i>Enter Fowler</i>	Worthy's house	Garden	Scene Garden
4.4 sig. G3v	<i>Enter Mistress Penelope and Worthy</i>	Worthy's house	Chamber 'Monks hole'	Scene Chamber
4.5 sig. Hv	<i>Enter Tutor. "Tutor: This is the place where I must exercise my valour upon Braines"</i>	Town	Town	Scene Tow[n]
5.1 sig. H3v	<i>Enter Sir George, Sir Nicholas, Mr. Worthy</i>	Worthy's house	Garden	Act Garden
5.2 sig. I	<i>Enter Sir Nicholas, Whibble, Footmen</i>	Town	Town	Scene Towne
5.3 sig. j2v	<i>The hearse brought in, Tapers. Enter Fowler</i>	Fowler's house	Chamber	Scene Chamber with hearse

Figure 5: Scene Plot for *The Ball*, James Shirley. First performed 1632 Queen's Men, Phoenix, Drury Lane, published 1639
Undated Promptbook found in Bodleian Library, Oxford, Malone 253

Text ref	Scene heading / opening stage direction	Location	Scene	MS Notes
1.1 sig. A2	<i>Enter Sir Marmaduke Travers, and Mr. Bostoke</i> <i>Bos. 'Whither so fast, Sr Marmaduke?</i>	Town	Town	
1.2 sig. Bv	<i>Enter Lady Rosamond, and Lady Honoria</i>	Chamber in ?'s house	[? Chamber]	Likely to have been cropped
2.1 sig. B4	<i>Enter Barker, Freshwater, and Gudgine</i> (<i>Co. A Pox upon him, what makes he in my way</i>)	Town	Town	
2.2 sig. C2	<i>Enter Scutilla and Solomon</i> <i>Enter the Dancer, Lady Rosomond, Lady Lucina, and</i> <i>Lady Honoria</i>	Chamber / Court Ballroom	Chamber ... dance	Partially cropped pencil note
2.3 sig. C2v	<i>Enter Solomon [sic. Scutilla]* and Coronell</i> ' <i>Scu</i> Sir, you are welcome... be but pleas'd to obscure Your self behind these hangings a few minutes' (sig. C2v) ... ' <i>Luc.</i> Now Scutilla we are ripe, and ready to entertain my Gamesters' (sig. C3) The scene ends with ' <i>Luc.</i> We'll laugh and lie down in the next roome, Scutilla' (sig. D2v)	Chamber / Court Lucina's house	Chamber Court	The ink MS note 'chamber' has been crossed out and replaced with 'chamber' in pencil

3.1 sig. D2v	<i>Enter Lord and Barker</i> Ends <i>'They dance in'</i>	Chamber / Court Lucina's house	Chamber Court	
3.2 sig. D4	<i>Enter Bostocke</i> <i>'Bos: I spy Sir Marmaduke coming after me.</i> <i>This way Ile walk to avoide his tedious questions' (sig. D4)</i> Freshwater comments <i>'there's no light'</i>	Town	Tow[n]	
3.3 sig. Ev	<i>Enter Freshwater, Gudgin, and Solomon</i>	Chamber	[cham]ber	
3.4 sig. E4	<i>Enter Lady Lucina and Scutilla</i> <i>'the gentlemen that were here this morning' (implies the scene is the same as an earlier one)</i>	A room in Lucina's house	Cou[rt]	
4.1 sig. F2v	<i>Enter Lord and Bostocke</i>	Lord Rainbow's house / Court	[Cou]rt	
4.2 sig. G2	<i>Enter Rosamond and Honoria whispering, Sr. Marmaduke and Sr. Ambrose following</i>			
4.3 sig. G4	<i>Enter Bostocke, Lady Lucina and Scutulla</i>			
5.1 sig. H3	<i>Enter Monsieur and servants with perfume</i>	Ballroom		
Sig. I2v	<i>A golden Ball descends, Enter Venus and Cupid</i>			

Indoor and Outdoor Spaces

Any investigation of Joseph's suggestion that the two hands in *The Witty Fair One* work together to produce a theatrically viable version of the play is hampered by the careless binder, who cropped much of the marginalia. The word 'Cham[ber]' may have been cropped again by the binder at the beginning of Act Two (sig. C3), and, disappointingly, there is no description of the set, as we sometimes find in Duke's Company promptbooks. The scene opens with Nicholas Treedle searching for his Chaplain, and he is informed by the Servant that 'He's newly walked out of his Meditation in the Kitchen, into the Garden'. Nicholas asks him to 'read his prayers in the Dining room'. He then asks 'bid my Tutor come 'Downe' to me' implying that the action takes place on a lower floor than the Tutor's quarters. The next scene takes place in an interior, different from the scene before, which could be any kind of room but is unlikely to be a bedchamber, since a note in 3.3 specifies 'Chamber with a bed' - though it is faintly possible that the words 'with a bed' have been cropped. We learn from the scene that we are in the home of Sir Nicholas Treedle. Later, Brains expresses some dubiousness about the lodging arrangements 'my lodging is next to her chambers, it is a confidence in my Master to let his Liuary lye so neere her, Servingmen have e're now proved themselves no Eunuches, with their Masters Daughters'. Yet another 'Chamber' is required for 5.3 (Sig. J2v). The word following 'chamber' has been partially cropped, but the remainder indicates that a word was written before 'hearse', perhaps 'with a'. It appears alongside the printed stage direction '*Enter Fowler. The Hearse brought in, Tapers*'.

In *The Ball* next to the printed act heading 'Actus Tertius' it looks like the first pencil hand has written 'fourth' next to the ink note for '[Cha]mber' (sig. D3). This suggests that at least four different 'Chamber' sets were used. This is consistent with the data given in the table below. The distribution of

scenes means that as many as five different chamber scenes may have been used without difficulty, with large props and hangings used to create variation between different character's rooms, and the painted backscene and relieve set doubling for more than one chamber. Some notes are also missing from *The Ball* owing to the binder's cropping. A note is likely to have appeared at the beginning of a 1.2, when the action moves to a private space occupied by Lady Rosamond and Lady Honoria (sig. Bv). Another correction in pencil moves the interior scene which opens Act Three from a 'Chamber' to 'court' (shown in figure 8, below, p. 302). The pencil marking moving the scene to 'Court' is clearly the later hand, although it is the more faint because it was written with pencil rather than ink, it strikes the ink note reading 'Chamber'. The alterations might have been made when the book transferred from King's Company property to Duke's. If so, this would suggest that the Duke's Company also performed *The Ball*, in the Restoration period, adapting it to suit their own resources.

The garden that Treedle's Tutor 'walked into', in *The Witty Fair One*, 2.1, was set for the opening scene, since the promptbook contains a clear note on scenery: 'SCENE: GARD[EN]' (Sig. B), presumably set before the audience entered. An arbor must have been brought on to stage (or as Langhans suggests 'at least partially visible, if not onstage') because the printed text contains the stage direction 'Vio. comes from the Arbor'.⁴³⁴ Near to this stage direction, in the right margin, the prompter has made three pencil markings that Langhans describes as 'indecipherable'. They may perhaps be linked with how the company decided to create the 'arbour', but we have no further detail. The warning for the scene change to 2.2 is written at the top of sig. C4, and the word

⁴³⁴ The warnings for scene changes are clear in the Dukes's promptbooks, with the word 'scene' written in, where scene changes happen place within an act, Langhans, *Restoration Promptbooks*, p. 43.

'Gard[en]' is written in the same hand five lines from the bottom of the page alongside the 'Exeunt' and Brains's and Whible's entrance. The word is cropped, but clearly indicates that the scene should represent a garden again, and this is borne out in the dialogue when Brains comments 'As much wit as will keepe Breynes [*sic.*] from melting this hot weather' (line 50-1, sig. D). The word is clearly legible at 4.3 (sig. G2v) and 5.1 (sig. H3v). The garden might have been painted on a backcloth, as Ichikawa shows.⁴³⁵ *The Ball* requires only one outdoor space, a Town, or piazza setting. At the beginning of both Act One and Act Two, 'Town' is noted, and this recurs at 3.2 (sig. D4). A 'Towne' scene is also required for *The Witty Fair One*, 4.1 (sig. F4v), 4.5 (sig. H2) and 5.2 (sig. I).

The scene changes would have been accommodated easily in the Restoration theatre, as figures 7-6 illustrate. By changing the rear set of flats while action happened on the forestage, in front of another pair of flats, positioned further downstage and drawn together, it would be easy work for the scene hands to position furnishings to create up to five different interior scenes. The symbols < and > are used in the table below to suggest when the scene hands might have made the transitions. The other manuscript markings indicate cuts to the dialogue, with very little additional material, as we have seen in other promptbooks. *The Witty Fair One* probably required three pairs of flats and a painted backcloth, while *The Ball* could easily be performed using two.

⁴³⁵ Ichikawa, 'Hangings and their use', pp. 19-23.

1.1 ~~~~~ G -- -- T -- -- C1 -- -- C2	2.1 ~~~~~ G -- -- T ----- C1 -- -- C2	3.1 ~~~~~ G -- -- T ----- C1 ----- C2	4.1 ~~~~~ G ----- T -- -- C3 -- -- C2	5.1 ~~~~~ G -- -- T -- -- C3 -- -- C4
	2.2 ~~~~~ G -- -- T -- -- C1 -- -- C2	3.2 ~~~~~ G ----- T -- -- < C3 -- -- C2	4.2 ~~~~~ G -- -- T ----- C3 ----- C2	5.2 ~~~~~ G ----- T -- -- C3 -- -- C4
		3.3 ~~~~~ G -- -- T ----- C3 -- -- C2	4.3 ~~~~~ G -- -- T -- -- C3 -- -- < C4	5.3 ~~~~~ G -- -- T ----- C3 -- -- C4
			4.4 ~~~~~ G -- -- T ----- C3 ----- C4	
			4.5 ~~~~~ G ----- T -- -- C3 -- -- C4	

Key

----- = Shutters in closed position

-- -- = Shutters in withdrawn position

~~~~~ = Relieve scene upstage of shutters

Red text = Backscene in view

> = Outgoing scene

< = Incoming scene

G = Garden

C1 = Chamber 1 – Downstairs chamber, Treedle's house

C2 = Chamber 2 – Violetta's chamber, Worthy's house

C3 = Chamber 3 – with a bed, Fowler's house

C4 = Chamber 4 - 'Monks hole', Worthy's house

T = Town, [piazza from *Guzman* ]

Figure 6: *The Witty Fair One*: Backshutter/ relieve change diagram

|                                        |                                            |                                            |                                            |                                        |
|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 1.1<br>----- T<br>-- -- C1<br>-- -- C5 | 2.1<br>----- T<br>-- -- C1<br>-- -- C5     | 3.1<br>----- T<br>----- < C2<br>-- -- < C3 | 4.1<br>----- T<br>----- < C2<br>-- -- < C5 | 5.1<br>----- T<br>----- C4<br>----- C3 |
| 1.2<br>----- T<br>-- -- C1<br>----- C5 | 2.2<br>----- T<br>----- > C1<br>-- -- > C5 | 3.2<br>----- T<br>-- -- > C2<br>-- -- > C3 | 4.2<br>----- T<br>----- > C2<br>----- > C5 |                                        |
|                                        |                                            | 3.3<br>----- T<br>----- < C4<br>----- < C3 | 4.3<br>----- T<br>----- < C4<br>-- -- < C3 |                                        |
|                                        |                                            | 3.4<br>----- T<br>----- > C4<br>-- -- > C3 |                                            |                                        |

### Key

----- = Shutters in closed position  
 -- -- = Shutters in withdrawn position  
 ~~~~~ = Relieve scene upstage of shutters  
 Red text = Backscene in view
 > = Outgoing scene
 < = Incoming scene
 G = Garden
 C1 = Chamber 1 – Ball room
 C2 = Chamber 2 –Chamber / Court
 C3 = Chamber 3 –Freshwater’s Chamber
 C4 = Chamber 4 – Lucina’s house / Court
 C5 = Rosomond’s Chamber
 T = Town, piazza

Figure 7: *The Ball*: Backshutter/ relieve change diagram

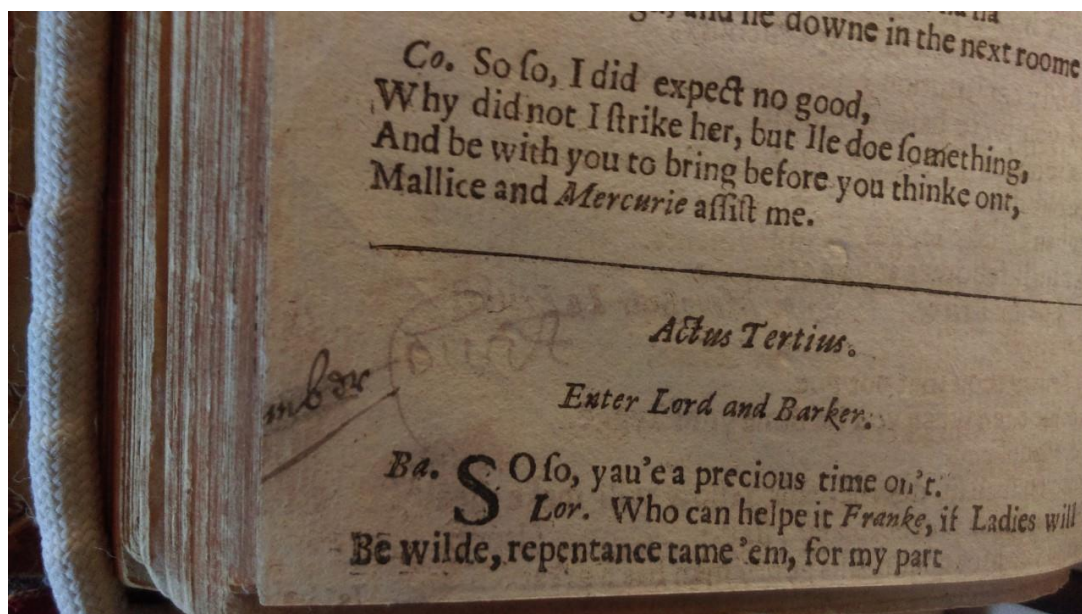


Figure 8: Bodleian Malone 253 [9] *The Ball*, showing two hands at work.

‘Divers persons personated so naturally... that I took it ill’: *The Ball*

The prompt copy of *The Ball* is likely to have been prepared by the Kings’ Company early in the Restoration, in or before 1662.⁴³⁶ Bentley conjectures that the play Pepys refers to as *The French Dancing Master* in his diary entry for 21 May 1662, was actually *The Ball*.⁴³⁷ Pepys wrote:

⁴³⁶ Langhans, *Restoration Promptbooks*, p. 19.

⁴³⁷ Bentley made the link as a tentative assertion, and McKinnen states that she is the first to second that association, Langhans follows suit and Jean Howard does not disagree. Sorelius asserted that the play referred to is *The Variety* (by William Cavendish, but to which Shirley contributed), but this was in 1966, i.e. before McKinnen published her finding of the prompt copy of *The Ball*. Highfill, Burnim and Langhans *BDA*, vol. 9, pp. 98-104. This text suggests, in parenthesis with a question mark, that *The French Dancing Master* was *The Variety*, but no

But we went to the Theatre, to *The French Dancing Master* and there was much pleasure gazed upon her (Lady Castlemaine) ... The play pleased us very well; but Lacy's part, the Dancing Master, the best in the World.

The French Dancing Master is given as an alternative title for *The Ball* in A *Catalogue of the Author's Poems* in the 1652 edition of *The Cardinal*.⁴³⁸

McKinnen believes the manuscript notes in the promptbook are the work of three hands, two seventeenth century ones, at least one of which was making notes for a post-1660 production, and a much later hand, probably that of a nineteenth century editor. Langhans is of the opinion that all the theatrical notes were made by one person, not two as McKinnen suggests. He adds that the hand is a match for the King's Company prompter.⁴³⁹ However, Langhans also points out that Vere Street did not have scenery, and as scenery is clearly called for in the promptbook, the play must have been shown at another theatre at some other time. Langhans narrows this down, suggesting that as it was a King's production, after 1663, it must have been played at either Bridges Street or Lincoln's Inn Fields. Lacy was a member of the King's Company, so if

certainty is implied. Allardyce Nicoll also concludes that it was produced by The King's Company (1952, I pp.294-299). Sorelius suggests in *Giant Race* (1966), p. 43, n. 1: 'I have identified Herbert's *Dancing Master* and *The French Dancinge Master* (Dramatic Records, pp. 117-118) and Pepys's *The French Dancing Master* (21 May 1662) with Cavendish's *The Variety* rather than with Shirley's *The Ball [or French Dancing Master]* (*Jacobean and Caroline Stage* III, p. 151; V, p. 1079). Elson argues this was Cavendish's original play and not the droll of the in his edition of *The Wits or, Sport upon sport* (John James Elson (ed.) Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1932), 387-88, p. 43, n 1). There is no mention of Shirley in connection with this droll. Drolls from plays by Shirley in the collection are: '*Jenkin's Love Course* and *A Prince in Conceit; The Triumph of Peace*, pp. 408-410.'

⁴³⁸ *The Cardinal, a Tragedy, as it was acted at the private house in Black Fryers, written by James Shirley. Not printed before* (London: Humphrey Robinson and Humphrey Moseley, 1652), p. 71.

⁴³⁹ Langhans, *Restoration Promptbooks*, p. 19.

the play referred to by Pepys is indeed *The Ball*, it was a King's Company production.

The contemporary satire that caused *The Ball* to be censored in the 1630s was not preserved in the copy of the text used for the promptbook. Herbert wrote that Christopher Beeston, rather than Shirley, agreed that the passages that Herbert 'found fault withal' would be amended. Thus he allowed it to be staged.⁴⁴⁰

In the play of *The Ball*, written by Sherley, and acted by the Queens players, ther were divers personated so naturally, both of lords and others of the court, that I took it ill, and would have forbidden the play, but that Biston [Christopher Beeston] promiste many things which I found fault withall should be left out, and that he would not suffer it to be done by the poett any more, who deserves to be punisht; and the first that offends in this kind, of poets or players, shall be sure of publique punishment.⁴⁴¹

Armstrong points out that 'decyphering' was a popular pastime of audience members at the private theatres – trying to discover real persons represented and satirised by characters on stage, even though many of the identifications were erroneous, the game was popular enough for evidence of their attempts to have survived.⁴⁴² Parlin's analysis of *The Ball* posits Shirley as more familiar with 'London's exclusive social circles than was any other dramatist then

⁴⁴⁰ See Joseph Quincey Adams, *The Dramatic Records of Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels* (New Haven, 1917) pp. 19 and 34.

⁴⁴¹ Quoted in Nason, *James Shirley: Dramatist*, p. 45, quoting from Malone's *Shakespeare* III pp. 231-232).

⁴⁴² Armstrong, 'The Audience of the Elizabethan Private Theatres', pp. 234-49 and 247-8.

writing for the public stage'.⁴⁴³ Yet, even if this claim could be satisfactorily substantiated, it does not seem to be the play's Caroline topicality that was altered for a Restoration revival.

The most extensive changes made in the promptbook are to Lacy's role Monsieur Le Frisk.⁴⁴⁴ Pepys's praise for Lacy's performance is among a few instances in which Lacy was thought to be the best thing about an otherwise indifferent play.⁴⁴⁵ The known facts about Lacy's biography suggest that he would have been well-equipped to take on the role of the dancing master, since he was apprenticed to the dancer John Ogilby, 'perhaps at his dancing school in Grey's Inn Lane near the Cockpit, or, as Aubrey seems to imply, at the theatre.'⁴⁴⁶ He was also 'said to have been Nell Gwynn's dancing instructor (and perhaps one of her early lovers) and probably served the troupe as a dancing coach.'⁴⁴⁷ In fact, from the 1663-4 season, Lacy took charge of the company as part of a triumvirate with Mohun and Hart. By 11 January 1669 Pepys was nostalgic for a time 'when Lacy could dance', after a disappointing performance in *The Jovial Crew*, implying that age had hampered his abilities. He seems to

⁴⁴³ Written as the introduction to an edition of *The Ball*, (unpublished dissertation, University of Pennsylvania).

⁴⁴⁴ He therefore also must have played Cupid in the masque. Howard observes: 'this Cupid is not a very dangerous fellow', and, 'That Cupid is played by Frisk ... only heightens the nonthreatening aspect of the love god. The French dancing master is here reduced to a shaftless cherub'. Howard, *Theater of a City*, p. 183.

⁴⁴⁵ Highfill, Burnim and Langhans, *BDA*, vol 9, p. 99: an anonymous poet wrote 'Be it never so good the Actors say / But they may thanke God with all their hart / That Lacy plaid Brankadoros part' (MS in BL, quoted in Hotson *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*); also Pepys on *The Changes* in May 1662, May 1663, May 1667, and April 1668; Pepys felt the same about *The Committee* (13 August 1667) as did John Evelyn (27 November 1662); in *Session of the Poets* (1665) it is noted 'The laurel on Lacy and Harris put on/ Because they alone made the plays go off'.

⁴⁴⁶ Highfill, Burnim and Langhans, *BDA*, vol. 9, p. 98.

⁴⁴⁷ Highfill, Burnim and Langhans, *BDA*, vol. 9, p. 100.

have continued work as a dancer and choreographer nonetheless, and on 19 January 1669/70, Pepys writes: 'Lacy hath made a farce out of several dances – between each act'.⁴⁴⁸ A portrait now hanging at Hampton Court shows Lacy in costume as the French Dancing Master.⁴⁴⁹

This ought to be considered among possible explanations for some of the editing in the Restoration promptbook. In other words, he was influential enough in the company to tailor the role to suit himself by removing the things he didn't want to do, i.e. take the role of Cupid in the masque presented by the characters in Act Five (sigs. I2v-I3), which, as we have seen, was apparently marked for cutting.⁴⁵⁰ A similar character is removed altogether from the promptbook of *Love's Cruelty*, as we saw in chapter eight, indicating perhaps that the once-fashionable character had become outdated by then, or that Lacy's death left the company without a suitable actor to take on the role.

A set of pencil markings indicating that the dance at end of 4.2 should be cut seem have been made after the ink marks for entrances on that page. The masque is boxed in ink, the earlier dance in pencil. Lines are circled for deletion in order to shorten an unusually long speech. Langhans writes that the cut 'would make the speech less windy'.⁴⁵¹ While this is undoubtedly so, as with the promptbooks of *Love's Cruelty* and *The Sisters* discussed in the previous chapter, more explanations merit consideration. Some of the editing does suggest careful consideration of how the play might be received by the restored

⁴⁴⁸ Pepys, *Diary*, 19 Jan. 1669/70.

⁴⁴⁹ Galliard in *The French Dancing Master* according to Highfill, Burnim and Langhans, *BDA*, vol 9, p. 104. A watercolour after John Michael Wright's original (c. 1668-1670) is held at the National Portrait Gallery, London, and available to view online at www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw81276/JohnLacy?set=375%3BWheatley%27s+London+%28vol+3%2C+part+1%29&search=ap&rNo=15 (accessed November 2016).

⁴⁵⁰ Discussed in chapter six, above.

⁴⁵¹ Langhans, *Restoration Promptbooks*, p. 22.

King and his circles. For example, cutting Lord Rainbow's suggestion that one cannot rest upon the reputation one inherits by birth, and that it is the responsibility of the nobly-born individual to add to the glory of the family through their actions:

our birth
Is not our owne act, honour upon trust,
Our ill deedes forfeit, and the wealthy summes
Purchas't by others fame or sweate, will be
our staine, (4.1, sig. G2).

The political atmosphere at the time of this performance may have been so tense that these lines risked striking at the heart of Charles II's deepest insecurity: if his people once again lost their faith in the notion of hereditary kingship, he was entirely unsafe on his throne.

Another manuscript mark removes almost seventeen lines from the middle section of the original thirty-line speech. The opening of the speech, in which Lord Rainbow laments having 'commended' Bostock to his mistress, reads:

Lo. And vexes my eyes to looke on such a Land-rat,
Were all these shames forgotten, how shall I
Be safe in honour with that noble Lady,
To whom I sinnefully commended thee,
Though twere not much, enough to make her thinke
I am as base as thou art (sig. Gv).

The next seventeen lines are excised, so that Rainbow's meditation on inherited virtue no longer precedes his final eight lines:

for we inherit nothing truely
 But what our actions make us worthy of;
 And are you not a precious gentleman,
 Thou art not worth my steele, redeeme this love
 Some generous way of undertaking, or
 Thou shalt be given up to boyes, and ballets,
 The scorne of footeman, a disgrace more blacke
 Than bastard, goe to the Coronell. (sig. G2)

In the shortened speech the phrase 'what our actions make us worth of' seems to link directly to Lord Rainbow's reflection on how his honour may be diminished by his association with Bostock. Thus the edit emphasises Rainbow's regret about his earlier commendation of Bostock, and implies that the actions of a man's life are more important than his inherited status. We have seen that in the early Restoration, Royalist writers - Shirley among them - were focusing their literary energies on endorsing Charles's natural right to succeed his father. Shirley's position on heredity was usually favourable - as we have seen in *The Court Secret*, in Shirley's drama, noble blood proves itself and assumes its rightful authority.⁴⁵² However, *The Ball* was Shirley's irreverent response to his experience of courtly culture and factionalism.

The lines that are removed from Rainbow's speech deal with heredity in some detail:

⁴⁵² Ira Clark argues that although Shirley is critical of those who abuse the hierarchical class system, he endorses the system as a whole. Clark also discusses Shirley's treatment of heredity and kingship in light of Butler's *Drama and Crisis*, finding that Shirley is not necessarily critical of the Stuart kings and that Royal blood always reveals itself and triumphs over nurture. Ira Clark, *Professional Playwrights: Massinger, Ford, Shirley and Brome* (Lexington, KT: University Press of Kentucky, 1992), pp. 119-27.

and the Coronell,
 And all that have but heard thee call me cosin,
 What cure for this you Malt-worme? oh my soule
 How it does blush to know thee, bragging puppie,
 Dee heare me thunder, and lightning, what
 Nobilitie my predecessors bosted,
 Or any man from honours stocke descended;
 How many Marquesses and Earles are numbered
 In their great family? what coates they quarter,
 How many battells our forefathers fought?
 Tis poore, and not becomming perfect gentry
 To build their glories at their fathers cost,
 But at their owne expense of blood or vertue,
 To raise them living monuments, our birth
 Is not our owne act, honour upon trust,
 Our ill deedes forfeit, and the wealthy summes
 Purchas't by others fame or sweate, will be
 our staine (sig. Gv-G2).

Some of these claims would have been distinctly uncomfortable in 1660. Nancy Klein Maguire argues that because Charles II was aware of 'the propaganda value of the theatre', new playwrights used the craft as a vehicle 'to gain or to enhance their political credibility'. Hence they unanimously 'defended the traditional power-structure ... promoted kingship in the new circumstances'.⁴⁵³ The playwrights, she suggests, adapted a mono-causal explanation of Regicide and Restoration, 'the party-line explanation'. Adaptors of earlier drama demonstrate the same bias.

⁴⁵³ Maguire, *Regicide and Restoration*, p. 3.

We have noted that traditional lineage underwent a period of rapid upheaval during and after the Civil War.⁴⁵⁴ However, *The Ball* confronts a process of change was already in motion in the Caroline period. The character of the dancing master, and the ball itself, are markers of the advent of a more permeable social order. Howard writes that commercial academies of dancing, manners and deportment ‘not only made the arts of bodily deportment a product to be sold to anyone with money to buy’, destabilising ‘the link between elegance and rank’, but brought these arts to public venues ‘where the process of rendering common the practices of an elite was easy to observe and the social ambitions of its members easy to satirize’.⁴⁵⁵ The lines marked to be cut from Lord Rainbow’s speech had, by the time of the Restoration, ceased to hold their former codes of meaning, thanks both the commercial developments identified by Howard, and the social turmoil produced by the war.⁴⁵⁶ Howard

⁴⁵⁴ Chapter three, above, pp. 88-92.

⁴⁵⁵ Howard, *Theater of a City*, p. 164. Howard adds: ‘Buckingham, for example, prided himself on his skillful dancing, which he first learned in France. When in England, he kept several French dancing masters in his employ, along with a French barber, a French fencing master, and a French musician to give him singing lessons. One of his dancing masters, Barthelemy de Montagut, dedicated a dance treatise to him and went on to become in 1630 a groom in Henrietta Maria’s Privy Chamber. Montagut is the model for the figure of Galliard in Newcastle’s *The Variety*. But while an aristocratic or courtly elite might be assumed to have a monopoly on elegant deportment, what the plays record is the constant assault on this prerogative by people somewhat less exalted in social status, but whose money lets them buy instruction in the very arts in which a Buckingham was trained. The social tensions revealed in these plays thus rang new changes on the old story of the battle between the prerogatives of old rank and new wealth, but played out in indirect and varied ways’ (p. 167).

⁴⁵⁶ ‘In 1640 in *The Variety* William Cavendish dramatized a French dancing master and a female academy of manners to mark the degeneration of English culture in the waning years of Charles I’s troubled reign. In 1662 his wife, Margaret, revisited, in *The Female Academy*, the idea of a school for ladies that, ignoring the language of postures, complements, and dancing so prominent in town comedies of the 1630s, attempted to make the education of women an intellectual endeavor and the academy of women a site of virtue.’ Howard, *Theater of a City* (p. 164).

writes that in the play, the ball itself functions as ‘the space in which a clarifying social sorting occurs. ... a site of moral education as much as a place for showing off one’s dancing skill.’⁴⁵⁷ In many ways, the Civil War acted as a similar sorting ground. Shirley, along with members of his literary circles, the self-styled ‘sons of Ben’ and the Order of the Black Riband, had lost land, occupations and status during the years of conflict and struggle. Their struggle to come to terms with their new situations under the Puritan regime is reflected in their literature, as Lois Potter, Nicholas McDowell, Teresa Grant, and others have shown.⁴⁵⁸ Indeed, the fact that Thomas Stanley’s lands were not sequestered led directly to the formation of the secretive circle around him. Respectful as they were of Jonson’s legacy, the new generation of playwrights were painfully aware that the old social order reflected in the stock character types in his ‘humours’ comedy no longer existed. The freedom with which Shirley pokes fun at the gentry’s discomfort with social mobility in this early play of his was perhaps too great after the war.

The Ball nonetheless provided Killigrew with the perfect blend of easy staging, nostalgic humour and familiar character types. It provided light entertainment appropriate for a war-weary crowd; it was ready to stage with relatively little alteration, and available in print. The temptation to revive it must have easily outweighed reservations about its political satire. Since the responsibility for ensuring that the plays presented by the King’s Company did not rattle the precarious power structures of the early Restoration rested with Killigrew, the amendments to the script are likely to be his, though, as we have

⁴⁵⁷ Howard, *Theater of a City*, p. 183

⁴⁵⁸ Lois Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writings: Royalist Literature 1641-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); McDowell, *Poetry and Allegiance in the English Civil Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), ‘Classical Liberty and Cavalier Poetics: The Politics of Literary Community in Caroline London from Jonson to Marvell’, *The Yearbook of English Studies* 44 (2014), 120-136; Teresa Grant ‘Smells Like Team Spirit’ *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature* 40.1 (2013), 34-51.

seen in this chapter, they have the greatest impact on the role played by Lacy, and it is certainly not impossible that the actor was involved in streamlining this script. Alternatively, some of the cuts may have been made after Lacy's death, which would account for the fact that they appear to be in multiple hands; perhaps it was the same hand, reworking the play some years later. This would account for the change from 'chamber' to 'court' shown in figure 8. Langhans may well be correct that only the prompter's hand is at work in Malone 253, but, even so, the marginalia is a record of decisions that may have been taken by the manager, the playwright or the actors.

I will return to the question of responsibility for the amendments to Shirley's plays discussed in this and the previous seven chapters in the final chapter. Before that, a firmer sense of the context for the Shirley promptbooks can be established by looking at Davenant's adaptation of Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* and *Much Ado About Nothing* into *The Law Against Lovers* (1662). Davenant's adaptation makes for an interesting comparison with Shirley's *The Traitor*, because its plot hinges on a very similar moral dilemma to that of both *The Law Against Lovers* and *Measure for Measure*: a well-bred young woman, who prizes her virginity above all else, including her own life - as her culture has taught her to do - is asked to sacrifice it to a tyrannical authoritarian in exchange for the life of her brother. The two were played in repertory opposite one another at the competing playhouses throughout the Restoration period.

Section IV

Chapter 10: Gresham's Law and the invention of the Canon

Leafing through the pages of *The London Stage* that document the repertoire of the two London theatre companies from the 1660s, one might be forgiven for assuming that James Shirley, not William Shakespeare, would have been the dramatist to go on to achieve lasting international fame. The (albeit incomplete) evidence of Restoration repertoire suggests that fewer of Shakespeare's plays were performed than Shirley's, and with less frequency, and that those that were performed were adapted, amalgamated and rewritten by Restoration playwrights, 'the daring souls who violated the precious shrine of [Shakespeare's] plays', as George Odell called them in 1920, with a sense of freedom that became infamous.⁴⁵⁹ The Restoration promptbooks of Shirley's *Love's Cruelty*, *The Maid's Revenge*, *The Ball*, *The Witty Fair One* and *The Sisters* examined in section three suggest that the alterations made to his plays were relatively minor. The very process of liberal adaptation secured Shakespeare's later preeminence, while no 'daring souls' came forward to rescue Shirley's plays, and, as a result, they barely outlived him, falling out of repertoire almost completely within a few years of the playwright's death. This chapter examines Davenant's amalgamation of *Measure for Measure* and *Much Ado About Nothing*, entitled *The Law Against Lovers* (1662), in relation to the context of Shirley plays that were acted in the same theatrical season (1661-2). *The Law Against Lovers* was variously reviewed by contemporaries as 'Two good plays to make one bad'; and 'a good play well performed'. How did Davenant's script attempt to compete with *Love in a Maze*, *Love's Cruelty*, *The Traitor* and *The Brothers*, which audiences could have seen at Killigrew's rival theatre? And

⁴⁵⁹ George C. D. Odell, *Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving*, 2 vols, (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1920), vol. 2, p. 154.

how did this play initiate the process by which Shakespeare came to overshadow not only Shirley, but all his contemporaries?

The tradition of pruning Shakespeare has been crucial to the longevity of Bardolatry. Flecknoe's gardening metaphor is a useful one to illuminate Davenant's efforts: 'A good play... should be like a well-contriv'd Garden, cast into its Walks and Counterwalks, betwixt an Alley and a Wilderness, neither too plain, nor too confus'd.'⁴⁶⁰ Gardening may have been in Davenant's own thoughts when he was updating Shakespeare, since in the prologue to his (and Dryden's) *Tempest, or The Enchanted Island*, begins:

As when a Tree's cut down, the secret Root,
Lives under ground, and thence new branches shoot;
So, from old Shakespear's honour'd dust, this day
Springs up and buds a new reviving Play.⁴⁶¹

Fifteen editions of Colley Cibber's version of *Richard III* were printed between 1700 and Cibber's death in 1757, indicating that the reading public appreciated his arrangement. In the preface to his version, he expresses some anxiety about adapting Shakespeare 'Tho' there was no great danger of the Readers mistaking any of my lines for *Shakespear's*; yet, to satisfie the curious, and unwilling to assume more praise than is really my due, I have caus'd those that are intirely *Shakespear's* to be printed in this *Italick Character*; and those lines with this mark (') before 'em, are generally his thoughts, in the best dress I could afford 'em: What is not so mark'd, or in a different Character is intirely

⁴⁶⁰ Flecknoe, *Short Discourse of the English Stage*, sig. G5r-v.

⁴⁶¹ It goes on to say that Shakespeare 'is that nature which they paint and draw. / Fletcher reach'd that which on his heights did grow, / Whilst Jonson crept and gather'd all below.' And that 'That innocence and beauty which did smile / In Fletcher, grew on this Enchanted Isle.' It also states that 'Shakespear's pow'r is Sacred as a King's.'

my own.⁴⁶² *The Jew of Venice* is haunted by the appearance of the ghosts of Shakespeare and Dryden, who deliver the prologue. But in *The Law Against Lovers*, no such anxiety or deference to the bard is apparent: Shakespeare is made to acknowledge adaptation as a refinement of the original: 'These scenes in their rough Native Dress were mine; / But now improv'd with nobler Lustre shine; / The first rude sketches Shakespear's Pencil drew, / But all the shining masterstrokes are new.'⁴⁶³ Brecht pointed out in the 1920s that, 'It is a good idea to stage [Shakespeare's plays] experimentally, ... They owe their existence to such sacrileges.'⁴⁶⁴ In fact, in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, uncut performances are something of a rare novelty. And Davenant himself was not the first to make changes to *Measure for Measure*, Thomas Middleton is now widely credited with having revised it, added scenes and altered its language.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶² Colley Cibber, 'Preface' in William Shakespeare, *The Tragical History of King Richard III as it is Acted at the Theatre Royal*, by C. Cibber (London: Printed for B. Lintott and A. Bettesworth, 1700).

⁴⁶³ Hazleton Spencer uses similar horticultural terms to interpret Dryden's understanding to Shakespeare: 'Shakespeare is an extraordinary genius; but his genius lies burried under the unrefined language of his day...' *Five Restoration Adaptations*, p. 10.

⁴⁶⁴ Bertold Brecht, quoted in Rodney Symington, *The Nazi Appropriation of Shakespeare: Cultural Politics in the Third Reich* (Edwin Mellen Press Ltd., 2005). Gary Taylor emphasizes the need to adapt Shakespeare for the new theatres in *Reinventing Shakespeare: A Cultural History from the Restoration to the Present*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 20. As Robert Shaughnessy points out, shortening Shakespeare's texts is even conceived of in terms of entitlement: a programme note to Red Shift Theatre Company's production of the first quarto version of *Hamlet* claimed to serve to its audience: "the guts of what Shakespeare means" because "people are entitled to have their artist made available". ... Modern dress was the means to lug the guts of Shakespeare into the open, and onto the stage.' (*The Shakespeare Effect: A History of Twentieth-Century Performance* (Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), p. 2).

⁴⁶⁵ The play's editor for *The Complete Works of Thomas Middleton*, John Jowett, suggests that Middleton refined the play's language, removing archaisms, a process Davenant continued.

Davenant makes much greater changes to the structure of the original than we see in Restoration versions of *Shirley*. The plays are restructured and large sections are rewritten, with major changes to plot and character as well as the kinds of minor alterations and shortening of long speeches that we see in the *Shirley* promptbooks. Davenant's work initiated a series of such reworkings of Shakespeare, including the operatic *Tempest* (1667), a collaboration with Dryden; Edward Ravenscroft's *Titus Andronicus* (1678) and Tate's (in)famous *Lear* (1681). Ironically, then, the very fact that *Shirley*'s plays were appropriate enough to transplant directly from the Caroline to Restoration stages may have guaranteed their demise later in the period. Had his work been treated more brutally, it might have inspired later generations of playwrights and performers to continually adapt the originals and find elements relevant to their own age, as Shakespeare's has done.⁴⁶⁶

In spite of the commercial success (and longevity) of Shakespeare adaptations, a scholarly tradition of condemning them began early. A manuscript poem written 'by a man-about-town to apprise his friend in the country of the plays current in London' that

Then came the Knight agen with his Lawe
Against Lovers the worst that ever you sawe
In dressing of which he playnely did shew it

⁴⁶⁶ Langhans' *Five Restoration Adaptations* includes facsimilies of *Psyche* (Thomas Shadwell) *The History and Fall of Caius Marius* (Thomas Otway) *Bussy D'Ambois* (Thomas D'Urfey) *The Island Princess* (Peter Anthony Motteux) *The Prophetess* (Thomas Betterton) – all adapted between 1675 and 1700. Langhans concludes his introduction 'In all five cases the adapters felt that the original pieces would not succeed on the London stage during the last quarter of the seventeenth century and had to be changed in one way or another. The variations worked by Shadwell, Otway, D'Urfey, Motteux, and Betterton are vivid demonstrations of the growing taste for heroic bombast rather than romantic passion, for song and dance, and, above all, for elaborate – and highly theatrical – stage spectacle.' (Introduction, p. 10).

Hee was a far better Cooke then a Poet.
 And only he the Art of it had
 Of two good Playes to make one bad...⁴⁶⁷

Leslie Hotson adds his support to this evaluation, calling it a 'hairbrained effort' that met 'with the contempt it deserves'.⁴⁶⁸ Even more recent theatre historians (including Michael Dobson) follow suit, and Katherine West Sheil follows John Freehafer in apologising for Davenant's amalgamation on the grounds that adaptation was required under the terms of Davenant's licence (Freehafer) and that the theatre manager was striving, above all, for novelty, apparently, West Sheil implicitly claims, without regard to making the play 'better'.⁴⁶⁹ Hazelton Spencer makes plain his preference for 'original' Shakespeare plays over adaptations in the sarcastic title of his book, *Shakespeare Improved*.⁴⁷⁰

However, *The Law Against Lovers* did not meet with contempt from every member of its audience. Samuel Pepys noted in his diary for 18 February 1661/2:

I ... saw *The Law Against Lovers*, a good play and well performed
 especially the little girl's [Moll Davis as Viola] (whom I never saw act

⁴⁶⁷ BM Add Mss 34, 217 quoted in Hotson *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, pp. 246-7.

⁴⁶⁸ Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, p. 248.

⁴⁶⁹ Dobson, 'Adaptations and Revivals' in Deborah Payne Fiske (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Restoration Theatre*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 40-51, p. 45. West Sheil 'Sir William Davenant's Use of Shakespeare in *The Law Against Lovers*' *Philological Quarterly* 76 (1997): 369-386. S. W. Singer, *The Text of Shakespeare Vindicated* (1853), an attack on Collier, gives a list of twelve plays, with which he says 'the greatest liberties have been taken' in promptbooks.

⁴⁷⁰ Hazelton Spencer, *Shakespeare Improved*, pp. 137-152, 335. Spencer uses Davenant's name as a virtual synonym for 'lesser than Shakespeare', for example, 'Benedick and Beatrice meet for an exchange of feeble witticisms, mostly pure Davenant' (p. 140).

before) dancing and singing; and were it not for her, the loss of Roxalana [Hester Davenport] would spoil the house.⁴⁷¹

John Evelyn also saw the play, in December 1662, suggesting that the opinion of the anonymous ‘man about town’ was not representative of the majority viewpoint at the time. The play’s appearance in the following theatrical season, and possibly at Court, suggests that company thought it likely enough to continue drawing audiences, and decent enough to impress the courtly elite.⁴⁷² Understanding the nature of Davenant’s adaptation lays bare the forces that ensured Shakespeare would become a global phenomenon for centuries while Shirley, ‘lies moulding in Duck lane shops forlorn’, as Dryden put it in *MacFlecknoe*.⁴⁷³

Davenant moved Shakespeare away from Elizabethan-Jacobean low comedy by replacing the comic characters Elbow, ‘a simple constable’ and Pompey, the clown, with Beatrice and Benedick’s witty exchanges from *Much Ado About Nothing* (augmented with some original material), in blank verse rather than Shakespeare/Middleton’s prose. The Beatrice-Benedick scenes appear in *Law* exactly where the clown scenes are in *Measure*. Juxtaposing these two storylines, and these two women – Isabella and Beatrice, with their contrasting responses to unwanted male attention – is a successful move by Restoration standards. The binary posits the Isabella/Antonio interaction as one end of a continuum, at the other end of which sit Beatrice and Benedick. The fact that in Davenant’s version both couples are set to marry by the end of the play adds to the impulse to view each of their experiences of courtship as a

⁴⁷¹ Quoted in Van Lennep, *The London Stage*, p. 48.

⁴⁷² Attacks on Shakespearean adaptation generally begin in the latter half of the eighteenth century, according to Christopher Spencer, in line with romantic comedies becoming more popular, and ‘respect paid to rules and decorum was declining as interest in psychological realism was increasing’ (*Five Restoration Adaptations of Shakespeare*, p. 5).

⁴⁷³ Parlin, *James Shirley*, p. 18.

comment on the other. Somewhere in the middle of that continuum sits Shirley's heroine, Amidea, in *The Traitor*.

Davenant sets his play in Turin, Savoy, and indeed he was not the first to transplant *Measure for Measure* to another city: John Jowett demonstrates that Thomas Middleton relocated the play from Ferrara to Vienna (and the Duke's supposed holiday destination from Poland to Spain) specifically in order to use the thirty-years war as a backdrop, adding topical references and anti-Catholic jibes as he amended the play, between its first incarnation in 1603-4 and its publication in the first folio (1623).⁴⁷⁴ Davenant's play, *Love and Honour* is also set in Savoy, which, as Barbara Murray points out, means that the company may well have had scenery they could re-use.⁴⁷⁵

Shirley also chose Savoy as a setting for plays about court intrigue, loyalty and sexual scandal (*The Grateful Servant*, for example). In the 1630s, Savoy was known, in the circles in which Shirley and Davenant moved, for its association with the Duke of Savoy, the Neoplatonic philosophy of D'Urfé and St. François de Sales (1567-1622). The famous *Introduction à la Vie Dévote* (1609) was a response to a specific request from Sales's cousin, Madame Marie de Charmois, the wife of an ambassador of the Duke of Savoy, who asked how it was possible to lead a devout life at court.⁴⁷⁶ Davenant's Savoy, like Shirley's, is a more conservative society than Shakespeare's Ferrara or Middleton's Vienna.

⁴⁷⁴ Jowett, 'Measure for Measure: A Genetic Text', in Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (eds) *Complete Works of Thomas Middleton*, pp. 1542-6, p. 1544. William Shakespeare, 'Measure for Measure' in *Mr William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories and Tragedies* (London: 1623), pp. 61-84,

⁴⁷⁵ Barbara A. Murray *Restoration Shakespeare: Viewing the Voice*, p. 40.

⁴⁷⁶ Veevers, p. 23. The book was given as a gift by Marie de Medici (HM's mother) to James I, and translated into English in 1613 by John Yakesley (*Introduction to a Devoute Life*), and become a phenomenal publishing success.

‘Our most mutual entertainment’: Claudio and Juliet’s relationship and female agency in *The Law Against Lovers*

Sexual references and acts are, as we have seen, frequently removed from Shirley’s plays in both promptbooks and reprints of the early 1660s. Davenant’s treatment of Shakespeare is not different. Davenant is at pains to emphasise Juliet’s belief that she and Claudio were spiritually married when she allowed him to impregnate her. Thus, Shakespeare’s:

Cla. Thus stands it with me: upon a true contract
I got possession of Julietta’s bed,
You know the Lady, *she is fast my wife,*
Save that we do the denunciation lack
Of outward Order. This we came not to,
Only for propogation of a Dowre
Remaining in the coffer of her friends,
From whom we thought it fit to hide our Love
Till Time had made them for us. But it chances
The stealth of *our most mutuall entertainment*
With character too gross, is writ in Juliet.⁴⁷⁷ (my italics)

Becomes, in *Law*:

Claudio: I grieve to tell you, Gentlemen, that I
Have got possession of Julietta’s bed.
She is my Wife by sacred vows, and by
A contract seal’d with form of witnesses.
But we the ceremony lack of marriage,

⁴⁷⁷ Shakespeare, *Measure*, p. 63.

And that, *unhappily*, we did defer
 Only for the assurance of a Dowry,
 Remaining in the Coffers of her Friends;
 From whom we thought it fit to hide our love,
 Till time had master'd their consent to it.
 But so it happens, that
 Our *oft stoln pleasure* is now writ
 With Characters too gross in Juliet. (my italics)

Far from being the more permissive of the two, Davenant's minor rewrites within this speech emphasise the 'sacred' nature of the union Claudio believes he has with Juliet, and the contract between them, quickly skirted over in Shakespeare, occupies additional space in *Law* (a play usually shorter than *Measure* in all of its borrowed scenes and speeches). Davenant also makes sure to add the word 'unhappily', and replaces 'our most mutual enjoyment', a line which surely emphasises Juliet's complicity, with 'our oft stoln pleasure', implying either a more illicit encounter than in Shakespeare's, or that virginity is now something Claudio feels he has 'stoln' from Juliet'.

Davenant's choices here may also have been influenced by the presence of actresses onstage from 1661, as well as the need to excise 'prophaneness and scurrility'. The 1662 patent to Thomas Killigrew decreed that women must play all female roles 'so long as their recreations ... be esteemed ... useful and instructive representations of human life.'⁴⁷⁸ A line given to Beatrice uttered in defence of Juliet adds weight to the spiritual integrity of Juliet and Claudio's marriage:

Beatrice: Methinks my Guardian
 Is but a rude Tenant. How durst he with

⁴⁷⁸ Reproduced in Full in Colley Cibber, *Apology*, p. 69.

Unmanly power, force my Cousin Juliet from me?
Eschalus: Lady, it was the Law that us'd that force.
Beatrice: The Law? *is she not married by such Vows*
As will stand firm in Heaven? that's the substantial part
Which carries the effect, and must she then
Be punisht for neglect of form? (my italics)

Davenant does not stop here. Two illegitimate pregnancies are removed from the story. The first is that of Mariana, Angelo's ex-fiancée in *Measure*, a character who does not appear at all in *Law*, which impacts dramatically on the plot. Instead of the 'bed trick' (in which the Duke enjoys a midnight dalliance with Mariana, believing her to be Isabella), Davenant adds a scene between Juliet and Isabella, in which Juliet asks Isabella to submit to the Angelo's request. Isabella suggests they perform a bed trick, but Juliet refuses. This is an important transition, suggesting a move away from a view of sexually active women as 'damaged goods', or, as Grimundo puts it in *The Grateful Servant* 'sale-ware, mercenary stuff', their sex cheap and expendable.⁴⁷⁹ By refusing to be a part of the bed trick, Juliet insists on the integrity of her relationship to Claudio once more, and on her own sexual integrity. This, we might say, paves the way for the sexually liberated women of Aphra Behn's comedies such as *The Rover*. Behn became a posthumous collaborator of Shirley's when she drew on his *The Constant Maid* for her *The Lucky Chance* (1686). While removing illicit sex and illegitimate pregnancy, Davenant represents a world that endowed women with much more control over their experience of sex. It is not to be casually traded as it is in *Measure for Measure* (and so many other Elizabethan and Jacobean comedies).

⁴⁷⁹ Aphra Behn picks up on this phrase in her character Mrs. Saleware in *The Debauchee* (1677). Discussed in Jessica Munns, 'Change, Skepticism and Uncertainty', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre* edited by Deborah Payne Fisk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 142-57, p. 147.

Moreover, Angelo and Isabella are to be married at the end, rather than Shakespeare's pairings between the Duke and Isabella, and Angelo and Mariana. This suggests that Davenant is interested in something other than poetic justice. The loss of Mariana removes many a bawdy line: 'My Lord, she may be a punke, for many of them are, neither Maid, Widdow, nor Wife' (*Measure*, p. 81). Second, Lucio is forced at the end of *Measure* to marry the mother of his illegitimate offspring, but this thread of plot is removed from *Law* (although the character is retained).

The effect of Davenant's changes is to clean up a world that, in the Shakespeare and Middleton version, is full of sinners all committing unlawful acts behind closed doors and not owning up to them, so that Angelo, although a hypocrite, is not unusual. *The Law Against Lovers* is set in an altogether less corrupt world than that of its source. Barbara Murray is right to point out that Restoration Shakespeare adaptation and John Milton's *Paradise Lost* emerge from the same cultural moment, which she sees as characterised by a 'general ethos of interest in the nature of human innocence and the operation of civilization on human behaviour'.⁴⁸⁰ This is Shirley's glossy, refined Caroline world, made even more spotless after eighteen years of Puritan repression. Davenant continues this clean-up with minor alterations to words within lines and speeches that are otherwise retained: for example, the 'groaning Juliet' becomes the 'weeping Juliet': replacing associations with both sex and childbirth (groaning) with penitence, even piety (weeping).

Like Davenant's Juliet, Shirley's Amidea is violent and passionate in her commitment to defending her purity. Resisting the Duke's advances, she tells him:

⁴⁸⁰ Murray, *Restoration Shakespeare*, p. 38.

I hate your black thoughts, tempt not my just hand
 With violent approach, I dare and will
 Doe that will greeve you, if you have a soule.
Du. Thou darst' not kill mee. *Am* True, but I dare die.
Du. Bee thine owne murderer?
Am. Rather than you should be my ravisher.⁴⁸¹

The language in this sequence stresses Amidea's courage and daring, and her hatred of sin. In *The Grateful Servant*, Astella rejects Piero's advances in very similar language:

Touch me not, villain, piety defend me...
 I'll sooner empty my veins: not to redeem thy soul,
 Should sin betray mine honour to one loose
 Embrace. (p. 81).

These passages echo the words of Edward Grimstone's *The Honest Man* (another translation of Neoplatonic conduct literature from the European courts, which is discussed in chapter three in relation to *The Grateful Servant*):

He must without doubt, have resolute courage, and firme resolution to
 dy a thousand times rather than yeeld to any basenesse.⁴⁸²

This passage is talking about men, while women's conduct is saved for a separate section at the end, but it is a more fitting description of Amidea than any of the men in *The Traitor*.

⁴⁸¹ Shirley, *The Traitor* (1635), sig. F3v.

⁴⁸² Edward Grimstone's *The Honest Man: An Art to Please in Court* was published in 1632 - his translation of Nicholas Faret's *L'Honneste Homme: Ou L'art du Plaire à la Cour* (1630), pp. 147-8.

Amidea is an agent in her own fate, and Davenant's adaptation of Shakespeare brings Isabella closer to this model. In one of Davenant's added speeches, the Duke tells Isabella:

If Daughter you repent that sin, because
 It brings you shame, it is a common, and
 An erring grief, which looks more at our selves,
 Than towards Heaven; not sparing Heaven for love,
 But fear.⁴⁸³

Isabella's refusal to see a difference between bodily and spiritual transgression (in her arguments to Angelo) also speaks to the Neoplatonic philosophy popular in the 1630s, and thus likely to find favour (Davenant might well assume) among predominantly Royalist audiences still giddy from celebrating the Restoration. Davenant juxtaposes the Duke's pressure on Isabella with Benedick's wooing of Beatrice, which is entirely absurd, as Beatrice notes, 'You cannot but woo but by Ambassadors; / And my chance to marry by proxy'. But, Benedick does at least offer Beatrice agency over her own sexuality. In *Law*, Beatrice's freedom to choose is given even more enhancement by her decision to tell Lucio (the messenger) that she is attracted to him (rather than to Benedick, on whose behalf he has approached her). This pastiche of the courtly love tradition, placed next to the Angelo/Isabel plotline, and a rendering of the play that places more censure on Juliet, in a play in repertory opposite *The Traitor*, tells us just how complex the conversation about women, sexuality, and freedom had become by 1661.

⁴⁸³ Davenant, *Law Against Lovers*, p. 288.

‘Credulous to False Princes’

Interestingly, a single line Davenant chose to exclude was ‘credulous to false princes’. This decision is intriguing, in light of the Shirley promptbooks and Restoration editions that also excise references to supersititious pseudo-sciences, as we saw in *The Traitor* in chapter two. There are other lines in the scene that may have been more obvious candidates to cut, including superfluous ‘flowery language’ (as Langhans terms it) and exactly the kind of content the patents instructed the theatre managers to remove from their plays, as in the lines that follow the above-quoted:

I could dwell ever
Here and Imagine I am in a Temple
To offer on this Altar of thy lip,
Myriads of flaming kisses with a cloude
Of sighes breath’d from my heart (sig. F3v)

The marginal stage direction ‘*kisses her often*’ is also removed.⁴⁸⁴ In chapter two we saw that the 1692 edition of *The Traitor*, which excludes the above-quoted lines, was set from a promptbook, and the editing was probably undertaken by either Thomas Killigrew or, Shirley himself, but not likely Davenant. Yet Davenant also chose to revise a reference to ‘Zodiacks’ uttered by Claudio.

⁴⁸⁴ Shirley, *The Traitor* (1635), sig. F3v.

Gresham's Law

Besides *The Law Against Lovers*, the theatre companies of the 1660s experimented with several of Shakespeare's canonical works.⁴⁸⁵ *Othello*, *I Henry IV*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *Hamlet* were revived in the early Restoration. *Julius Caesar* was found to be sympathetic to rebellion and so it was withheld until later in 1660s. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was performed without any adaptations in 1662 and was unsuccessful. Similarly, a faithful rendition of *Pericles* had a brief run in the early Restoration but was not retained in repertoire by either company.⁴⁸⁶ When *Romeo and Juliet* was performed without adaptation in 1662, Pepys called it 'The worst [play] that ever I heard in my life'.⁴⁸⁷ Similarly, of *Twelfth Night* he tells us 'I took no pleasure in it'.⁴⁸⁸ (Admittedly this was after a stressful evening, but the play evidently failed to cheer Pepys's mood.) It was adapted into a tragi-comedy by James Howard, which does not survive, but is noted by Downes.⁴⁸⁹ *King Lear* was also performed without adaptation in 1664, but showed no sign of the popularity of Tate's later version. After Davenant began the process of adaptation, the popularity of Shakespeare began steadily to rise, and there is a noticeable turn in the tone of contemporary criticism. *Henry VIII*, the product of collaboration between Shakespeare and the younger playwright, John Fletcher

⁴⁸⁵ Van Lennep notes: 'The adaptations did not set in at once. Oddly enough, the records of the season of 1660-1 show performances of four of the unrevised plays: *Hamlet*, *I Henry IV*, *The Merry Wives*, and *Othello*. This situation did not last long, as the alterations began in the next season with Davenant's *The Law Against Lovers*. Three more relatively unaltered plays were also given during the period: *Henry VIII*, *Richard III*, and *Twelfth Night*. *Richard III* was to be revised by Colley Cibber, but not until 1700, and Shakespeare's play may have been in stock after that date.' *The London Stage*, p. cxxix.

⁴⁸⁶ Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare*, pp. 21-3

⁴⁸⁷ Pepys, *Diary*, 1 Mar. 1662

⁴⁸⁸ Pepys, *Diary*, 11 Sep. 1661

⁴⁸⁹ Summers, ed., London, 1927, p. 11.

(1579-1625), and was first staged by Davenant in 1663 with spectacular pageantry, and was, 'apart from *I Henry IV* the only history to be received with favour in the 1660s'.⁴⁹⁰ Davenant adapted *The Two Noble Kinsmen* in 1664 as *The Rivals*. He also produced his own version of *Macbeth* in 1664, and revived it in 1667, when it met with an unfortunate response due, apparently to the performance, rather than the play itself. Pepys writes: 'Young (a bad actor at best) ... everybody agreed in disliking this fellow, which prejudiced them against the whole play'.⁴⁹¹ R. C. Bald notes that a couplet taken from *Julius Caesar* appears in the 1719 publication of Davenant and Dryden's version of *Macbeth*, and that it seems likely that 'the London Alterations were known in the Dublin theatre some years at least before they were available in print'.⁴⁹² This suggests that with Betterton in role, the audience enjoyed the play enough for its reputation to reach Dublin.

Davenant and Dryden collaborated to turn *The Tempest* into *The Enchanted Island* in 1667, a play that impressed Pepys more each of the three times he wrote about it in his journal. On 12 December, 1667 he noted that the play was a crowd-pleaser: 'as often as I have seen it, I do like very well, and the house very full'. On 3 February 1668 the play 'pleased again', since it was 'full of variety'. Pepys was especially keen on the 'seaman's dance'. This scene probably made use of the large stage at the Duke's House, which Killigrew had sought to emulate with his rebuilding of the Theatre Royal in 1666. It is unfortunate for Shirley, that his French dancing master scenes in *The Ball*

⁴⁹⁰ Dobson, *Making of the National Poet*, p. 27.

⁴⁹¹ Pepys, *Diary*, 15 Oct. 1667.

⁴⁹² R. C. Bald, "Shakespeare on the Stage in Restoration Dublin," *PMLA* 56.2 (1941), 369-378, p. 378). Gwynne Blakemore Evans questions this theory in *Shakespearean Promptbooks of the Seventeenth Century* Vol. 1, part 1, pp. 14-15.

relied on Lacy's clowning, and did not, it seems, provide a thrill that could compete with the Seaman's dance.⁴⁹³

There were some attempts at innovation in the staging of Shirley: to compete with the Duke's Company's successful production of *Love Tricks* in 1668, Killigrew went so far as to stage *Hyde Park* with live horses, but these were not as sustained or as vigorous as the Shakespeare adaptations.⁴⁹⁴ Contemporary reviews of Shirley on record take a rapid turn for the worse after his death. In *MacFlecknoe*, Dryden wrote, addressing Thomas Shadwell,

Heywood and Shirley were but Types of thee,
Thou last great Prophet of Tautology.⁴⁹⁵

Robert Gould penned an even more targeted take-down of Shirley's reputation in his satire, *The Playhouse* (1685):

Think, Ye vain Scribbling *Tribe*, of Shirley's Fate,
You that Write *Farce*, and You that *Farce* Translate;
Shirley! The Scandal of the Ancient Stage,
Shirley! The very *Drf-y* of his Age:
Think how he lies in *Duck-lane* Shops forlorn,
And never mention'd but with utmost scorn.⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹³ Gildon writes disparagingly of 'French Dancers' in plays, that were 'attended by the lower sort of people', 'about an hundred years ago', when: 'their taste was so far sunk, that they pleas'd with what shock'd a nice eye. For first, the best of French Dancers are without variety; their steps, their posture, their risings are perpetually the same unmeaning motion; a French Dancer beign at best but a graceful mover, full oof brisk and senseless activity, unworthy the eye of a man of sense, who can take no pleasure worth attending, in which the mind has not a considerable share.' *Life of Thomas Betterton*, pp. 143-4.

⁴⁹⁴ Randall, *Winter Fruit*, p. 109.

⁴⁹⁵ Dryden, *MacFlecknoe* (London: 1682), lines 29-30.

Sorelius writes of the first two of these quotations that Dryden, followed by Gould, was accusing Shirley of 'want of originality' 'for D'Urfey was known in his time for dullness and sterility of imagination.'⁴⁹⁷ Sorelius suggests that 'personal rancour may have played some part', but that 'the heavy middle-class moralism that mars certain of the author's plays, in conjunction with his improprieties of diction and decorum' are likely to have 'alienated' him from his audience.⁴⁹⁸

Thomas Shadwell insulted Shirley in the crossfire when he wrote a rejoinder to Dryden's attack on Chapman's *Bussy D'Ambois* in his dedication to *The Spanish Fryar*:

Alas! Says *Bays*, what are your wits to me?
Chapman's a sad dul Rogue at *Comedy*;
Shirley's an Ass to write at such a rate
 But I excel the whole *Triumvirate*:⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁶ See also Charles Gildon, 'Some Reflections on Mr. Rymer's Short View of Tragedy' in *Miscellaneous Letters And Essays, On Several Subjects*, (London, 1694), p. 90. Edward Philips put Shirley 'in a place of honour', *Compendiosa Enumerato Poetarum* (1669) (see Robert Howarth, 'Edward Phillips's *Compendiosa Enumerato Poetarum*' *Modern Language Review*, LIV, (1959), 321-28). The 1675 edition of Philips' *Compendiosa* gives a different account: 'James Shirly [sic], a just pretender to more then the meanest Place among the *English* poets, but most especially for Dramatic Poesy, in which he hath written both very much; and for the most part with that felicity, that by some he is accounted little inferiour to *Fletcher* himself' *Theatrum Poetarum*, London 1675, p. 80 (all quoted from Sorelius, *Giant Race*, p. 83).

⁴⁹⁷ Sorelius, *Giant Race*, p. 84.

⁴⁹⁸ Sorelius, *Giant Race*, p. 84.

⁴⁹⁹ Shadwell, Thomas, 'The Tory-Poets: A Satyr', in *The Complete Works of Thomas Shadwell*, 5 vols, edited by Montague Summers (London: Fortune Press, 1927).

Gresham's Law seems to fit the bill here: plays that easily transposed onto the Restoration stages were scorned and dropped from repertoire within the decade, while adaptations (debasements) met with acclaim. If more work had been required of Killigrew in rewriting them, he might have been more inclined to preserve them. How far 'personal rancour' (Sorelius's phrase) played a role in Davenant's avoidance of *Shirley* cannot be concluded with much accuracy.

Parlin writes that Felix Schelling 'has put *Shirley* in his proper place when he calls the reign of Charles I "above all the period of *Shirley*.' Schelling suggests that the reason for *Shirley*'s 'failure to impress either his time or the times to come', was to do with his eclecticism: 'He was neither frankly a disciple like Massinger nor daringly an innovator like Ford'. Parlin adds an amusing anecdote, suggesting that *Shirley*'s drama was pleasant but ultimately forgettable:

I have forgotten the author, but I think it was Lowell. He tells of seeing a volume of *Shirley* on his library shelves. Attracted to fresh reading in the old dramatists, he took down the volume, only to find the pages marked by his own pencillings. He had evidently read this book at an earlier time, but the memory of it had completely deserted him....There is something in the conventionality of the romantic plots, a lack of vital characterization, which seems to account for this.⁵⁰⁰

Not all late-seventeenth-century and later comment on *Shirley* is entirely unfavourable, but his apologists might be accused of damning him with faint praise. Edward Phillips, in his *Theatrum Poetarum* (1675), acknowledged

⁵⁰⁰ Parlin adds 'The momentary zest of the cleverly constructed plots, a prettiness and charming sufficiency of line, carries one through these plays with interest and leaves one pleasantly satisfied; but they do not fix themselves in one's memory never to be forgotten.' (p. 8)

Shirley's talents in a statement that he was 'little inferior to Fletcher himself'. Langbaine describes Shirley as 'a gentleman ... of such incomparable parts, that he was the chief of the second rate poets'.⁵⁰¹ Gildon contradicts Langbaine noting, '*Mr Shirley and Mr Heywood have not left enough in all their Writings to compose one tolerable Play, according to the true Model and Design of a Play*'.⁵⁰² Malone complains that 'such was the lamentable taste of those times that the plays of Fletcher, Jonson and Shirley were much oftener exhibited than those of [Shakespeare]'.⁵⁰³ Parlin concludes 'It would be only fair to the poet and his critic to think that Dryden knew little about Shirley when in 'MacFlecknoe' he loosely joined him with Heywood as a type of Shadwell, the "last great prophet of tautology."⁵⁰⁴ Yet the subjects and wit of his plays were passed on under new auspices. The attribution of the 1692 edition of *The Traitor* to Anthony Rivers was among many publications and performances to borrow from Shirley without frank admission of having done so. Forsythe notes many examples of plays by other dramatists that owe a debt to Shirley, though this is rarely acknowledged.⁵⁰⁵

Shirley's legacy in Restoration theatre

Among the unanswered questions about Shirley's life and career, one of the most intriguing is that, as Ira Clark reports, Shirley's will 'testified to considerably more wealth than could have been anticipated for a poet and schoolmaster'.⁵⁰⁶ Might he have acquired this unexpected wealth through

⁵⁰¹ Laingbaine, *Lives* (1691), p. 474.

⁵⁰² *Lives and Characters of the English Dramatic Poets*, sig. A5v.

⁵⁰³ Malone by Boswell, III, p. 273. Quoted in Hanson T. Parlin, *Shirley's Comedies of London Life*, p. 3.

⁵⁰⁴ Parlin, p. 3.

⁵⁰⁵ Forsythe, *The Relations*, pp. 32-41.

⁵⁰⁶ Ira Clark, 'Shirley, James (bap. 1596, d. 1666)', *ODNB*, (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2015) [<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25427>, accessed 14 Nov 2016]

theatre? We have evidence that amendments to *The Court Secret* were made in manuscript by Shirley, providing firm evidence that he was involved with editing his own plays after 1660. As I have demonstrated through comparison with other Restoration prologues, and as Howarth states, the Inductio was certainly written in or around 1664.⁵⁰⁷ Thus we have evidence that Shirley was editing his plays, with a view to seeing them revived, until at least 1664. The differences between the editions of *The Grateful Servant* and *The Constant Maid*, or, *Love Will Find Out the Way* are evidently the work of a careful editor who was familiar with the play and wanted to make it appropriate for a new context. These are consistent with the amendments to the manuscript of *The Court Secret* and support Esche's suggestion that they were made by Shirley.⁵⁰⁸

The circumstantial evidence for Shirley's involvement with the editing process considered in chapter one may be summarised as follows: Shirley was still alive until 1666, and maintained connections with Royalist literary circles. Revivals of his plays remained steady during the final six years of his life, spiked around the time of his death and declined sharply thereafter. It is known that Shirley engaged in the practice of 'serial composition', rather than aiming for a 'fixed' text, and he engaged with the process of selective publication of edited poetry to trumpet his allegiance to the Restored King Charles II. The nature of the editing, examined in chapters two to nine demonstrates the same tendency.

This thesis began by questioning the accuracy of Anthony Wood's claim that Shirley was not involved with professional theatre after the Restoration. It cannot be concluded with certainty that the playwright was involved with revising his plays for the Restoration market, but, equally, no conclusive evidence rules him out. What is clear is that the editorial work undertaken in

⁵⁰⁷ Howarth, 'A Manuscript', pp. 302-3.

⁵⁰⁸ Esche, 'Stages to Pages'.

preparing the Caroline favourites for the Restoration public is consistent across imprints and promptbooks, revealing a number of key transitions in the zeitgeist from the Caroline era to the Restoration. In particular, the influence of Puritanism is easily detectable, and an uneasy relationship to the censor; from cutting kisses, bawdy jokes and sexual puns. The moral code of the plays is narrowed from in some cases complex explorations of human motivation, loyalty and inner conflict, to a more black and white moral landscape. Several characters are rendered to distasteful archetypes by cutting sections of their speeches that demonstrate emotional depth and inner conflict over moral issues, in particular, this applies to adulterers (as in Hippolito and Clariana in *Love's Cruelty*) and to impostors and usurpers (as in *The Grateful Servant*, *The Court Secret* and *The Sisters*). The Restoration promptbooks considered in section II bear witness to the careful adjustment of (particularly female) characters to carve a clearer binary between the chaste, honest, pious characters and the villainous, atheistic, lustful vice-figures, fostering this simplified moral picture. This demonstrates a move away from the inclusion of Neoplatonic philosophy which was fashionable in the Caroline period, towards a neater binary between vice and virtue.

The editing also carves out careful message of support for the Crown, for loyalty and the Royal prerogative. Shirley was certainly not the only person connected with the Restoration resurgence of his plays to share in these Restoration values. In the end, the close readings of Restoration Shirley in this thesis have more to say about the spirit of the age than they do about the playwright as an individual. This is clear in the treatment of superstition and pseudo-science, such as references to the astral bodies as determiners of human affairs, and belief in prophetic dream visions. As we have seen, references to these outdated beliefs are only excluded if they reflect badly on a character with whom the audience or reader is supposed to empathise. Fools and the

credulous retain their superstitions and are mocked mercilessly for it. This transition is characteristic of the era that prided itself on its science and inaugurated the Royal Society. It does not necessarily reveal a playwright who had revised his beliefs. If Shirley was not responsible, or not solely responsible, for the editing, then who might have been?

It was predominantly Killigrew's company, the King's Company, who performed Shirley's plays in the 1660s, and he is the most likely candidate. Davenant's successors in the Duke's Men increased Shirley's contribution to their repertoire from one to a handful (pp. 37-9). Personal animosity between Shirley and Davenant would explain this pattern, though it is clear from the records that the King's Company inherited the rights to the bulk of Caroline drama, it would not have been impossible for Davenant to have staged Shirley's plays if he had wished to. This final chapter has considered Davenant's treatment of Shakespeare, and shown it to be significantly more heavy handed than the Restoration promptbooks and editions of Shirley's plays examined in chapters two to eight. Whoever edited Shirley's plays in the same period did so with a very light touch, but the bias in the editing exhibits some similar patterns. Killigrew is the most likely candidate, and close analysis of his editorial practices on his own plays suggest that it is consistent with the editing in the Shirley promptbooks.

In Chapters five and six we saw that the manuscript of *The Court Secret* held at Worcester College, Oxford, contains manuscript amendments that may have been made in preparation for a performance. The play was revived in 1664, and the amendments would seem to subtly alter the play to enhance its similarity to the then popular Spanish Romance plays epitomised by Samuel Tuke's *The Adventures of Five Hours*. Looking closely at the promptbooks of Shirley's plays does not reveal any radical alterations to the text made to

accommodate the newly available technology in theatres. Rather, Shirley's plays were stageable cheaply, making use of pieces of set built for other plays.

As we saw in chapter one, seventeen of Shirley's plays were performed on the professional London stages after the Restoration. They constitute an important part of the theatrical scene in the 1660s, and thus to discount them from discussion of 'Restoration theatre' as so many theatre historians have done, is to distort the picture of the Restoration stage, and indeed of Restoration culture. His influence on the major writers of the succeeding generation has been unacknowledged and underestimated. In this chapter I have noted that the editorial changes made during Shirley's lifetime appear very minor in comparison with the dramatic alterations made to Shakespeare's plays and argued that this might have served to undermine the longevity of Shirley's plays. Bringing out *The Court Secret* amidst a wave of very similar plays, all set in Spain and her colonies was a commercially prudent move, but one which left the play open to the kind of satire levied at the Spanish romance genre in the scathing remarks in the epilogue to Dryden and Davenant's *Tempest*: 'Among the Muses there's a gen'ral rot, / The Rhyming Monsieur and the Spanish Plot: / Defie or Court, all's one, they go to Pot.' While 'rescuing' Shakespeare, who had been conveniently dead for half a century, Shirley's protective influence may have been the very thing that led the next generation of playwrights to allow Shirley to 'go to pot'.

Bibliography

- Adams, Joseph Quincey, *The Dramatic Records of Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917)
- Anon., *An exact description of Prince Ruperts Malignant She-Monkey, a great Delinquent* (London, Feb 25, 1642)
- Anon., *The Humble Petition and Advice Presented unto His Highness the Lord Protector by the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses assembled at the Parliament begun and held at Westminster the 17th day of September, 1656 and there continued until the 26th day of June following and then adjourned unto the 20th day of January 1657: as also their Humble Additionall and Explanatory Petition and Advice Presented unto His Highness in the same Parliament: Together with His Highness Consent unto the said Petitions when they were Respectively Presented* (Edinburgh: Reprinted by Christopher Higgins, 1657).
- Anon., *The Caterpillars of this Nation Anatomized* (London: Printed for M. H. at the Prince's Arms in Chancery Lane, 1659),
- Anon., *Cromwell's Conspiracy. A Tragy-Comedy. Relating to our latter Times. Beginning at the Death of King Charles the First, And ending with the happy Restauration of King Charles the Second. Written by a Person of Quality* (London: 1660)
- Arber (ed.) *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640 AD*, 5 vols (London: Privately Printed, 1887), vol. 4, p. 368.
- Armstrong, William A., 'The Audience of the Elizabethan Private Theatres', *The Review of English Studies*, NS 10.39 (1959), 234-49
- Astington, John, *Actors and Acting in Shakespeare's time: The Art of Stage Playing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)
- Avery, Emmett L., and Arthur H. Scouten, 'A critical introduction', in *The London Stage 1660-1800, Part 1: 1660-1700*, by Willian Van Lennep (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1965)

- Bald, R. C., "Shakespeare on the Stage in Restoration Dublin," *PMLA* 56.2 (1941), 369-378, p. 378).
- Baldwin, Maxwell, 'The Date of Fletcher's *The Night-Walker*', *Modern Language Notes*, 50, No. 8 (1935), 487-93
- Barnard, John, 'London Publishing 1640 – 1660: Crisis, Continuity and Innovation', *Book History*, 4 (2001), 1-16
- Bawcutt, N. W., "'Abstract of the Articles': An Early Restoration Theatre Agreement', *Theatre Notebook: A Journal of the History and Technique of the British Theatre*, 51:2 (1997), 75-80
- , 'The Assassination of Alessandro De' Medici in Early Seventeenth-Century English Drama', *Review of English Studies*, 56 (2005), 412-23
- , ed., *The Control and Censorship of Caroline Drama: The Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels 1623-73* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996)
- Beal, Peter, 'James Shirley', *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts 1450-1700* <www.celm-ms.org.uk/introductions/ShirleyJames.html#> [accessed 26 April 2016]
- Bentley, G. E., *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, 7 vols, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941-1968)
- Bennett, Michael J., 'Simnel, Lambert (b. 1476/7, d. after 1534)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) online edn, Oct 2008
- Bertram, Joseph, 'Stage directions in a seventeenth-century prompt book', *Theatre Notebook*, 3 (1949), 66-7
- Bevington, David, and Peter Holbrook, eds, *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)
- Blackbourne, Richard, *Clitie* (London: Printed for William Leake, 1688)
- Blakemore Evans, G., *Shakespearean Prompt-Books of the Seventeenth Century* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1960)
- Blount, Thomas, *A Natural History* (London: Printed for Richard Bentley, 1693)

- Boswell, Eleanore, *The Restoration Court Stage (1660-1702)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932)
- Boyle, Roger, *Guzman* (London: Francis Saunders, 1693)
- Braga Riera, Jorge, *Classical Spanish Drama in Restoration English (1660-1700)* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamin Publishing Company, 2009)
- Brown, Laura, 'The divided plot: tragicomic form in the Restoration', *English Literary History*, 47.1 (1980), 67-79
- Burns, Edward, *Restoration Comedy: Crises of Desire and Identity* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and London: MacMillan Press, 1987)
- Butler, Martin, *Theatre and Crisis 1632-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987)
- Bywaters, David, 'Representations of the Interregnum and Restoration in English Drama of the early 1660s', *The Review of English Studies*, 60 (2009), 255-70
- Capp, Bernard, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs 1500-1800* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1979)
- Carlton, Charles, 'The Dream Life of Archbishop Laud', *History Today*, 36 (1986), 9-14
- Clark, Ira, *Professional Playwrights: Massinger, Ford, Shirley and Brome* (Lexington, KT: University Press of Kentucky, 1992)
- Clark, William S., 'Restoration Prompt Notes and Stage Practices', *Modern Language Notes*, 51.4 (1936), 226-30
- Chalmers, Hero, Julie Sanders and Sophie Tomlinson (eds) *Three Seventeenth-Century Plays on Women* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006)
- Cibber, Colley, *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber* edited by Robert W. Lowe (London: Charles Whittingham and Co., 1889)

- Cohen, Walter, *Drama of a Nation. Public Theatre in Renaissance England and Spain* (Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985)
- Cornielle, Pierre, *Nicomede, a Tragicomedy* (London: Printed for Frances Kirkman, 1671)
- Crouch, John, *A Mixt Poem, Partly Historicall, Partly Panegyricall, Upon the Happy Return of His Sacred Majesty Charles the Second and his Illustrious Brothers, the Dukes of York and Glocester* (London: Printed for Thomas Betterton, 1660)
- Culpepper, Nicholas, *Opus Astrologicum* (London: Richard Moon and Stephen Chatfield, 1654)
- Cust, R. P., 'Charles I, the Privy Council, and the forced loan', *Journal of British Studies*, 24.2 (1985), 208-35
- Danby, Jennifer Renee, 'Portraits Of Restoration Actors Michael Mohun And Edward Kynaston: New Evidence', *Theatre Notebook*, 59 (2005), 2-18
- Danchin, Pierre, *The Prologues and Epilogues of the Restoration 1660-1700: A Complete Edition* (Nancy: Publications Université Nancy, 1981)
- Dobson, Michael, 'Adaptations and Revivals' in Deborah Payne Fiske (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Restoration Theatre*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 40-51,
- Douglas, James, *Strange News From Scotland and their Young King his Dream Concerning England: With the Appearing of a Wonderful Vision to him in the Night, and What Happened Thereupon: Together, with his Speech to the Lords of his Privie Councel; and a Dreadful Prophetie of Mr. Douglas a Scotchman* (London: Printed by J. C., 1651)
- Downes, John, *Roscus Anglicanus*, ed. by Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume (London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1987)
- Dryden, John, 'Preface to *Don Sebastian*', in *John Dryden: Of Dramatic Poesey and Other Critical Essays*, vol. 2, edited by George Watson (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1962)

- Dyce, Alexander, 'Some Account of Shirley and his Writings', in William Gifford and Alexander Dyce (eds) *The Dramatic Works and Poems of Shirley*, 6 vols, (London: John Murray, 1833) iii-lxvi
- Egan, Gabriel, 'The Closure of the Theatres', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 44 (2014), 103-19
- Ellinger, Linda Kay Ward, *A Critical Edition of James Shirley's The Court Secret* (unpublished dissertation, University of Iowa, 1979)
- Esche, Edward J., 'Stages to Pages: The Four Quartos of Shirley's *The Constant Maid*', <http://www.inst.at/trans/16Nr/09_6/esche16.htm> [accessed 12 August 2013]
- , ed., *Shakespeare and his Contemporaries in Performance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000)
- Evelyn, John, *Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. by William Bray (New York and London: M. Walter Dunne, 1901)
- Eyre, G. E. B., and G. R. Rivington, eds, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1640-1708* (London: Privately printed, 1915)
- Farmer, Alan B., and Zachary Lesser, 'Canons and Classics: Publishing Drama in Caroline England', in *Localizing Caroline Drama*, ed. by Adam Zucker and Alan B. Farmer (New York and Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 17-41
- Farr, D. N., 'Lambert, John (bap. 1619-d. 1684)', *ODNB*, (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, Jan 2008
- Fulke, William, *Meteors* (London: Printed for William Leake, 1655)
- Fitzmaurice-Kelly, James, *A New History of Spanish Literature*, ed. by Julia Fitzmaurice-Kelly (New York: Russell and Russell, 1926)
- *The Relations between Spanish and English Literature* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1910)
- Fitzpatrick, Tim, and Daniel Johnston, 'Spaces, Doors and Places in Early-Modern English Staging', *Theatre Notebook*, 63.1 (2009), 2-19

- Flavin, Sister Martin, ed., James Shirley, *A Critical, Modern-Spelling Edition of the 1629 Quarto of The Wedding* (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1980)
- Fleay, Frederick Gard, *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama, 1559-1642* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1891)
- Flecknoe, Richard, *A Short Discourse of the English Stage*, in *Love's Kingdom: A Pastoral Trage-Comedy, With a Short Treatise of the English Stage* (London: Printed by R. Wood for the author 1664)
- *Love's Kingdom* (London: Printed by R. Wood for the Author, 1664)
- Fletcher, John *Bonduca* (London: Printed for Richard Bentley, 1696)
- Fontenelle, *Dialogues of the Dead, Ancient and Modern* (London: Printed for Richard Bentley, 1685)
- Forsythe, Robert Stanley, *The Relations of Shirley's Plays to the Elizabethan Drama* (New York: B. Blom, 1914)
- Freehafer, John, 'The formation of the London patent companies in 1660', *Theatre Notebook*, 20 (1965), 6-30
- 'The Nature of the Dorset Garden Theatre,' *Theatre Notebook*, 36 (1982) 99-109
- 'Restoration Comedy and its Audiences, 1660-1776,' *Yearbook of English Studies*, 10 (1980) 45-69
- Fulke, William, *Meteors* (London: Printed for William Leake, 1655)
- García, Luciano, 'The Motif of the Reluctance to See the King in Lope de Vega's *El Villano en su Rincón* and James Shirley's *The Royal Master*', *The Review of English Studies*, 54. 215 (2003), 365-85
- Gassendi, Pierre, *The Vanity of Judiciary Astrology Or Divination by the Stars. Lately written in Latin, by that Great Schollar and Mathematician, the Illustrious Petrus Gassendus; Mathematical Professor to the King of France. Translated into English by a person of quality*, (London: Humphrey Moseley; Giles Calvert, 1659).

- Gaw, Allison, 'Sir Samuel Tuke's Adventures of Five Hours in Relation to the "Spanish plot" and to Dryden', *Studies in English Drama*, University of Pennsylvania (1917) 1-61
- Genest, John, *Some Account of the English Stage from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830 in ten volumes* (London: H. E. Carrington, 1832)
- Gifford, William, and Alexander Dyce, *The Dramatic Works and Poems of James Shirley*, 6 vols (London: John Murray, 1833)
- Gildon, Charles, *The Life of Mr. Thomas Betterton, the Late Eminent Tragedian* (London: Printed for Robert Gosling, 1710)
- Goffe, Thomas, *Three Excellent Tragedies* (London: Printed for G. Bedell and T. Collins, 1656), p. 261.
- Gosse, Edmund, *James Shirley: Plays* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1888)
- Grant, Teresa, 'Smells Like Team Spirit', *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature*, 40.1 (2013), 34-51
- Greaves, Richard, *Deliver Us From Evil: The Radical Underground in Britain 1660-63* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986)
- Greenfield, Anne, 'D'Avenant's Lady Macduff: Ideal Femininity and Subversive Politics', *Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700*, 37.1 (2013), 39-60
- Greer, Margaret R., 'The development of national theatre', in *The Cambridge History of Spanish Literature*, ed. by David T. Gies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 238-50
- Gregory, George MacKendrick, *Two studies in James Shirley. I. Shirley's authorship of The Traytor. II. Shirley's headmastership of the Free Grammar School of St. Albans ... A digest of matter selected from a dissertation, etc.* (Durham, NC: 1935)
- Grose, Clyde L., 'Anglo-Portuguese Marriage of 1662', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 10.3 (1930), 313-52

- Gunn, S. J., 'Warbeck, Perkin [Pierrechon de Werbecque; alias Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York] (c.1474–1499)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford:Oxford University Press, 2004)
- Hammond, Anthony and Doreen Delvechio, 'The Melbourne Manuscript and John Webster: A Reproduction and Transcript', *Studies in Bibliography* 41 (1988), 1-32, p. 4.
- Harbage, Alfred, *Cavalier Drama: An Historical and Critical Supplement to the Study of the Elizabethan and Restoration Stage* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1936; reprinted New York: Russell and Russell, 1964)
- 'Elizabethan: Restoration Palimpsest', *Modern Language Review*, 35.3 (1940), 287-319
- 'Shirley's *The Wedding* and the Marriage of Sir Kenelm Digby', *Philological Quarterly*, 16 (1937), 35-40
- *Sir William Davenant, Poet Venturer 1606-1668* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Philadelphia Press, 1935)
- Harrington Smith, John, *The Gay Couple in Restoration Comedy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1948)
- Harris, Bernard, 'The Dialect of Those Fanatic Times', *Restoration Theatre*, 6 (1965), 11-40
- Harris, Tim, *Politics Under the Later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society 1660-1715* (London and New York: Longman, 2012)
- 'Scott [Crofts], James, duke of Monmouth and first duke of Buccleuch (1649–1685)', *ODNB* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2009)
- Harwood, John T., *Critics, Values and Restoration Comedy* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982)
- Herbert, Sir Henry, *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, 1623-1670*, ed. by John Quincey Adams (New Haven, CT: Cornell Studies in English, 1917)

- Heylyn, Peter, *France Painted to the Life by a Learned and Impartial Hand*, (London: Printed for William Leake, 1656)
- Highfill, Philip H., Jr., and Kalman A. Burnim, Edward A. Langhans, A *Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & other stage personnel in London, 1660-1800* (Carbondale & Edwardsville, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973)
- Hill, Christopher, *Some Intellectual Consequences of the English Revolution* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980)
- Hill, P. R., and J. M. Watkinson, *Cromwell Hath the Honour, but... Major General Lambert's Campaigns in the North, 1648* (London: Frontline Books, 2012)
- Holland, Peter, *The Ornament of Action* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979)
- Hooks, Adam, 'Booksellers' Catalogues and the Classification of Printed Drama in the Seventeenth Century', *PBSA* 102.4, (2008), 445-64
- 'The Catalogues of William Leake', *Publications of the Bibliographical Society of America* 102.4 (2008), 445-464
- Hotson, Leslie, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928)
- Howard, Jean E., *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy, 1598-1642* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009)
- Howarth, Robert Guy, 'A Manuscript of James Shirley's *Court Secret*', *Review of English Studies*, 7.27 (1931), 302-13
- 'A Manuscript of James Shirley's *Court Secret*', *Review of English Studies*, 8.30 (1932), 203
- 'Shirley's Cupid and Death', *Times Literary Supplement*, (15 November 1934), 795
- Howe, Elizabeth, *The First English Actresses: Women and Drama 1660-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)

- Hughes, Ann (ed.), *Seventeenth Century England: A Changing Culture* (London: Ward Lock Educational, 1983), pp. 80-1.
- Hughes, Leo, 'Evidence from Promptbooks', in *The London Theatre World 1660-1800*, ed. by Robert D. Hume (Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980), 119-42
- Hughes, Derek, *English Drama 1660-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996)
- Hume, Martin, *Spanish Influence on English Literature* (London: E. Nash, 1905)
- Hume, Robert D., *The Development of English Drama in the Late Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976)
- 'Dr Edward Browne's Playlists of '1662': A Reconsideration', *Philological Quarterly*, 64 (1985), 69-81
- , ed., *The London Theatre World 1660-1800*, (Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980)
- 'The Nature of the Dorset Garden Theatre', *Theatre Notebook*, 36 (1982), 99-109
- 'Securing a Repertory: Plays on the London Stage 1660-5,' in *Poetry and Drama 1570-1700: Essays in Honour of Harold F. Brooks*, ed. by Antony Coleman and Antony Hammond (London: Methuen, 1981), pp. 156-72
- and Judith Milhous, 'A 1660s Promptbook for Shirley's *Love's Cruelty*', *Theatre Research International*, 11 (1986), 1-13
- ed., with Judith Milhous, *A Register of English Theatre Documents 1660-1737*, 2 vols, (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991)
- and Arthur H. Scouten, "'Restoration Comedy" and its Audiences, 1660-1776', *Yearbook of English Studies*, 10 (1980), 45-69
- 'Diversity and Development in Restoration Comedy 1660-1679', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 5, No. 3 (1972), 365-97
- Ichikawa, Mariko, 'Were the Doors Open or Closed? The Use of Stage Doors in the Shakespearean Theatre', *Theatre Notebook: A Journal of the History and Technique of the British Theatre*, 60.1 (2006), 5-29

- ‘What Story is that Painted Upon the Cloth?': Some Descriptions of Hangings and their use on the Early-Modern Stage', *Theatre Notebook* 70.1 (2016): 2-31
- Jackson, MacD. P., 'John Webster, James Shirley, and the Melbourne Manuscript', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 19 (2006), 21-44
- Jacobs, Giles, *The Poetical Register, or, The Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets with an Account of their Writing*, 2 vols, (London: E. Curl, 1719)
- Jonson, Ben, *The Devil is an Ass*, (London: 1641)
- Karim Cooper, Farah, *Cosmetics in Shakespearean and Renaissance Drama* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006)
- Keenan, Tim, 'Adapting the Adaptors: Staging Davenant and Dryden's Restoration Tempest', *Journal of Adaptation in Film and Performance*, 2 (2009), 65-77
- ‘Boyle's *Guzman* at Lincoln's Inn Fields 1669', *Theatre Notebook*, 60.2 (2006), 76-93
- ‘The Early Restoration Stage Re-Anatomised: *The Adventures of Five Hours* at Lincoln's Inn Fields 1663', *Theatre Notebook*, 61.1 (2007), 12-31
- ‘Early Restoration Staging: Play Production at Lincoln's Inn Fields 1661-1674', 2 vols. (unpublished dissertation, University of London, 2006)
- “‘Scaenes with Four Doors’: Real and Virtual Doors on Early English Stages”, *Theatre Notebook*, 65 (2011), 62-81
- Kenyon, J. P., *The Stuart Constitution 1603-1688: Documents and Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), pp. 331-2
- Kewes, Paulina, “‘Give me the sociable Pocket-books ...’: Humphrey Moseley's Serial Publication of Octavo Play Collections”, *Publishing History*, 38 (1995), 5-21
- Killigrew, Thomas, *Comedies and Tragedies* (London: Printed for Henry Herringman, 1664)

- King, T. J., 'Shirley's *Coronation* and *Love Will Find Out the Way*: Erroneous Title-Pages', *Studies in Bibliography: Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia*, 18 (1965), 265-69
- 'Staging of Plays at the Phoenix in Drury Lane, 1617-42', *Theatre Notebook*, 19 (1965), 146-66
- Kingsley, Charles, *Plays and Puritans, and Other Historical Essays* (London and New York: Macmillan, 1889)
- Kinservik, Matthew J., 'Theatrical Regulation during the Restoration Period', in *A Companion to Restoration Drama*, ed. by Susan J. Owens (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2001), pp. 36-52
- Kirsch, Arthur C., 'A Caroline Commentary on the Drama', *Modern Philology* 66.3 (1969), 256-261
- Kishlansky, Mark, *A Monarchy Transformed: Britain 1603-1714* (London: Penguin, 1996)
- Kramer, Annette, "'Thus by the musick of a ladyes tongue": Margaret Cavendish's dramatic innovations in women's education', *Women's History Review*, 2.1 (1993), 57-79
- Kravenik, Frances M., *British Drama, 1660-1779: A Critical History* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1995)
- Kroll, Richard, 'The Nod of God', in *The Material World: Literate Culture in the Restoration and Early-Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), pp. 305-321
- Kyle, Chris R., *Theater of State: Parliament and Political Culture in Early Modern England* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012)
- Langbaine, Gerald, *The Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets* (Oxford: Printed by L. L. for George West and Henry Clements, 1691)
- Langhans, Edward A., 'A conjectural reconstruction of the Dorset Garden theatre', *Theatre Survey*, 13 (1972), 74-93
- *Five Restoration Adaptations* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1980)

- ‘New Restoration Theatre Accounts’, *Theatre Notebook* 17 (1963), p. 122
- ‘Restoration Manuscript Notes in a Seventeenth-Century Plays’,
Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research, 5.2 (1966)
- *Restoration Promptbooks* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1981)
- Lasch, Christopher, ‘The Suppression of Clandestine Marriage in England: The Marriage Act of 1753’, *Salmagundi*, 26 (1974), 90-109
- Leacroft, Richard, *Development of the English Playhouse*, rev. edn (London: Methuen, 1988)
- Lesko, Kathleen Menzie, ‘Evidence of Restoration Performances: Duke Ferdinand Albrecht's Annotated Playtexts from 1664-65’, *Philological Quarterly*, 79.1 (2000), 45-68
- Lewalski, Barbara K., ‘Milton's Comus and the politics of masquing’, in *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. by David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)
- Lewcock, Dawn *Sir William Davenant, the Court Masque, and the English Seventeenth-Century English Stage* (Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2008)
- Loftis, John, *Spanish Plays of Neoclassical England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973)
- ‘English Renaissance Plays from the Spanish *Comedia*’, *English Literary Renaissance*, 14 (1984), 230-48
- London, William, *A Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books in England Orderly and Alphabetically Digested Under the Heads of Divinity, History, Physick and Chyrurgery, Law, Arithmetick, Geometry, Astrology* (London: 1657)
- Love, Harold, ‘Who Were the Restoration Audience?’, *Yearbook of English Studies*, 10 (1980), 21-44
- *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993)
- Lowe, Robert W., ed., *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber* (London: Charles Whittingham and Co., 1889)

- Lucow, Ben, *James Shirley* (Boston, MA: Twayne Publishers, 1981)
- M. M., *Vienna*, (London: Printed for William Leake, 1650)
- M. W., *A Comedy called The Marriage Broaker, or, The Pander written by M. W., M. A.* (London: 1662)
- Maguire, Nancy Klein, *Regicide and Restoration: English Tragicomedy, 1660-1671* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)
- Marchant, E. C., 'Rivers, Antony (fl. 1601–1606)', rev. Alison Shell, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)
- Marsden, Jean, 'Rewritten Women: Shakespearian Heroines in the Restoration', in *The Appropriation of Shakespeare: Post-Renaissance Reconstructions of the Works and the Myth*, ed. by Jean Marsden (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), pp. 43-56
- Masters, Anthony, *The Play of Personality in the Restoration Theatre*, ed. by Simon Trussler, (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1992)
- Maus, Katherine Eisman, 'Playhouse Flesh and Blood: Sexual Ideology and the Restoration Actress' *ELH* 46 (1979), 595-617
- McDowell, Nicholas, 'Classical Liberty and Cavalier Poetics: The Politics of Literary Community in Caroline London from Jonson to Marvell', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 44 (2014), 120-36
- 'Herrick and the Order of the Black Riband: Literary Community in Civil-War London and the Publication of *Hesperides* (1648)', in *'Lords of Wine and Oile': Community and Conviviality in the Poetry of Robert Herrick*, ed. by Ruth Connolly and Tom Cain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 106-26
- *Poetry and Allegiance in the English Civil Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)
- McGirr, Elaine M., *Partial Histories, A Reappraisal of Colley Cibber* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013)

- McKinnen, Dana G., 'A Description of a Restoration Promptbook of Shirley's *The Ball*', *Restoration and Eighteenth Century Theatre Research*, 10 (1971), 25-28
- McKinnon [sic.] Dana, 'The Ball by George Chapman and James Shirley: A Critical Edition. (unpublished dissertation, University of Illinois, 1970)
- Mekemson, Mary J., *A Critical, Modern-Spelling Edition of James Shirley's The Opportunity* (New York and London: Garland, 1991)
- Milhous, Judith, 'Company Management', in *The London Theatre World 1660-1800*, ed. by Robert D. Hume (Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980), pp. 1-34
- and Robert D. Hume, 'Manuscript Casts for Revivals of Three Plays by Shirley in the 1660s', *Theatre Notebook*, 39 (1985), 32-36
- Millner Kahr, Madlyn, 'Danae: Virtuous, Voluptuous, Venal Woman', *The Art Bulletin* 60 (1978), 43-55
- Miyoshi, Riki, 'Thomas Killigrew's Early Managerial Career: Carolean Stage Rivalry in London, 1663-1668', *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research*, 27.2 (2012), 13-33
- 'An Unpublished Document Relating to the Restoration Actor Michael Mohun', *Notes and Queries*, 62.2 (2015), 265-66
- Morgan Zarucchi, Jeanne, 'The Gentileschi "Danae": A narrative of Rape', *Woman's Art Journal* 19 (1998/9), 13-16
- Mottoux, Peter, *Gentlemen's Journal* (April 1692), p. 21
- Munns, Jessica, 'Change, Skepticism and Uncertainty', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre* edited by Deborah Payne Fisk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 142-57
- Munro, Lucy, 'Actors, Plays and Performances in the Indoor Playhouses, 1625-42: Boy Players, Leading Men and the Caroline Ensemble', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 44 (2014), 51-68

- Murray, Barbara A., *Restoration Shakespeare: Viewing the Voice* (Madison and Teaneck, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; London: Associated University Presses, 2001)
- *Shakespeare Adaptations from the Restoration. Five Plays* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2005)
- ‘Startling Shakespeare on the Restoration stage or, “A dozen Shakespeares here interr'd do lie”’, *Shakespeare*, 6.2 (2010), 227-45
www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17450911003790208
- Nason, Arthur Huntington, *James Shirley, Dramatist: A Biographical and Critical Study* (New York, 1915; reprinted New York: Benjamin Blom, 1967)
- Nicholson, William, *An Apology for the Discipline of the Ancient Church* (London: Printed for William Leake, 1658/9)
- Nicoll, Allardyce, *History of the English Stage*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923)
- ‘Political Plays of the Restoration’, *Modern Language Review*, 16 (1921), 224-42
- ‘The Rights of Beeston and D’avenant in Elizabethan Plays’, *Review of English Studies* 1.1 (1925), 84-91
- Noble, Mark, *Memoirs of the Protectorate House of Cromwell: Deduced from an Early Generation and Continued Down the Line* (London: Pearson and Rollason, 1784)
- Noling, Kim H., ‘Recent Studies in James Shirley’, *English Literary Renaissance*, 37.3 (2007), 450-65
- Novak, Maximilian, ‘Review: *The Development of English Drama in the Late Seventeenth Century* by Robert D. Hume’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 10.4 (1977), 512-16
- Noyes, R. G., *Ben Jonson on the English Stage 1660-1777* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935)
- Odell, George C. D., *Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving*, 2 vols (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1920)

- Oliver H. J., 'The Building of the Theatre Royal in Bridges St: Some Details of Finance', *Notes & Queries*, 19 (1972), 464-66
- Oughtred, William, *Mathematicall Recreations*, (London: Printed for William Leake, 1653)
- Owens, Susan J., (ed.) *A Companion to Restoration Drama* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2001)
- Parlin, Hanson Tufts, *A study in Shirley's comedies of London Life* (Austin, TX: The University of Texas, 1914)
- Peacock, Judith, 'Writing for the Brain: The Producability of Margaret Cavendish's Dramatic Texts', in *A Princely Brave Woman: Essays on Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle*, ed. by Stephen Clucas (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2003), pp. 87-108
- Pedicord, Harry William, 'The Changing Audience', in *The London Theatre World 1660-1800*, ed. by Robert Hume, (Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980)
- Pepys, Samuel, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A New and Complete Transcription*, ed. by Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols (London: Bell, 1970-1983)
- Peters, Erin, 'Trauma Narratives of the English Civil War', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 16 (2016), 78-94
- Pitcher, Seymour M., 'Some Observations on the 1663 Edition of Faustus', *Modern Language Notes*, 56.8 (1941), 588-94
- Plat, Sir Hugh, *The Garden of Eden*, (London: Printed for William Leake, 1654)
 ——— *The second part of the Garden of Eden* (London: Printed for William Leake, 1659/60)
- Plomer, H. P., *A Dictionary of the Booksellers 1668-1725* (London: 1904)
- Potter, Lois, *Secret Rites and Secret Writings: Royalist Literature 1641-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

- Prieto-Pablos, Juan A., 'Admission Prices At The Dorset Garden Theatre: An Analysis Of The Duke's Company's Bill For Nell Gwyn's Attendance (1674-1676)', *Theatre Notebook*, 62.2 (2008), 63-76
- Pullen, Kirsten, *Actresses and Whores: On Stage and in Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)
- Quinsey, Katherine M., ed., *Broken Boundaries: Women and Feminism in Restoration Drama* (Lexington, KT: University Press of Kentucky, 1996)
- Randall, Dale B. J., *Winter Fruit: English Drama, 1642-1660* (Lexington, KT: University Press of Kentucky, 1995)
- Reeve, L. J., *Charles I and the Road to Personal Rule* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- Richards, Nathaniel, *The Celestiall Publican, A Sacred Poem: Lively Describing the Birth, Progresse, Bloudy Passion, and Glorious Resurrection of our Saviour* (London: Roger Michell, 1630)
- Riemer, A. P., 'Shirley's Revisions and the Date of *The Constant Maid*', *Review of English Studies: A Quarterly Journal of English Literature and the English Language*, 17 (1969), 141-48
- 'A Source for Shirley's *The Traitor*', *The Review of English Studies*, 14.56 (1963), 380-83
- Rivière, Janine, "'Visions of the Night': The Reform of Popular Beliefs in Dreams in Seventeenth-Century England', *Parergon*, 20.1 (2003), 109-38
- Robertson, Randy, *Censorship and Conflict in Seventeenth-Century England: The Subtle Art of Division* (Philadelphia, PA: Penn State Press, 2009)
- Ryrie, Alec, 'The Fall and Rise of Fasting in the British Reformations', in *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Natalie Mears and Alec Ryrie (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 89-108
- Sales, St. Francois de, *An Introduction to a Devoute Life, composed in Frenche by the R. Father in God Francis Sales, Bishop of Geneva, and translated into English, by I. Y.* (London: G. Patté for John Heigham, 1613)

- Sanders, Julie, ed., 'James Shirley's *The Bird in a Cage*', in *Three Seventeenth-Century Plays on Women and Performance*, ed. by Hero Chalmers, Julie Sanders and Sophie Tomlinson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006)
- Sanders, Julie, 'Lacy, John (c.1615–1681)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)
www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15856 [accessed January 2011]
- Scheil, K. W., *The Taste of the Town: Shakespearean Comedy and the Early Eighteenth-century Theater* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2003)
- Schelling, Felix Emmanuel, *Elizabethan Drama 1558–1642* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1908)
- Senault, Jean-François, *Man Become Guilty, or, The Corruption of Nature by Sinne*, (London: Printed for William Leake, 1650)
- Seaward, Paul, 'Charles II (1630–1685)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011)
- Seligmann, Raphael, 'With a Sword by Her Side and a Lute in Her Lap: Moll Cutpurse at the Fortune', in *Musical Voices of Early-Modern Women: Many Headed Melodies*, edited by Thomasin K. La May (London: Ashgate 2009)
- Seward, Patricia M., 'Was the English Restoration Theatre Significantly Influenced by Spanish Drama?', *Revue de littérature comparée*, 46 (1972), 95-125
- Shadwell, Thomas, 'The Tory-Poets: A Satyr', in *The Complete Works of Thomas Shadwell*, 5 vols, ed. by Montague Summers (London: Fortune Press, 1927)
- Sharpe, Kevin, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992)

- Shattuck, Charles, *The Shakespeare Promptbooks* (Urbana and London: University of Illinois Press, 1965)
- Shaughnessey, Robert, *The Shakespeare Effect: A History of Twentieth-Century Performance* (Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002)
- Shell, Alison, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination 1558-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)
- Shimko, Robert, 'The Miseries of History', *Theatre History Studies*, 29 (2009), 81
- Shipman, Thomas, *Henry the Third of France, stabb'd by a fryer, with the fall of the Guise a tragedy acted at the Theatre-Royal* (London: Printed by B.G. for Sam. Heyrick, 1678)
- Shirley, James, *The Ball: A Comedy, As it was Presented by Her Majesties Servants, at the Private House in Drury Lane. Written by George Chapman and James Shirley* (London: Printed for Andrew Crooke, and William Cooke, 1639).
- *Cupid and Death: A Private Entertainment Represented with Scenes and Music* (London: Printed for John Crooke and John Playford, 1659)
- *The Grateful Servant*, (London: Printed for John Grove, 1630)
- *The Grateful Servant* (London: Printed for William Leake, 1637)
- *The Grateful Servant* (London: Printed for William Leake, 1660)
- *Honorio and Mammon Scene Metropolis or New-Troy: Whereunto is Added the Contention of Ajax and Ulysses for the Armour of Achilles / Written by James Shirley, Gent.; As it was represented by young gentlemen of quality at a private entertainment of some persons of Honour* (London: Printed for John Crook and are to be sold at his shop, 1659).
- *The Maid's Revenge: A Tragedy* (London: Printed for William Cooke, 1639), sig. A2.
- *et al.*, *Stella Meridiana Caroli Secundi Regis, &c. verses written 31 years since, upon the birth and noon-day star of Charles, born Prince of Great Brittain the 29 of May 1630: our now miraculously restored and gloriously crowned Charles the Second of Great Britain, France and*

- Ireland King, &c./ by several persons of honour*, (London: Printed for T. Basset, 1661).
- *Poems &c.* (London: Printed for Humphrey Moseley, 1646)
- *The School of Compliment, or, Love Will Find Out the Way* (London: Printed by R. T. and sold by Thomas Dring Jr, 1667)
- *Six New Playes* (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1653)
- *Six New Playes* (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1653) annotated copy, Bodleian Library, Malone 253
- *The Traitor, A Tragedy, written by James Shirley. Acted by Her Majesties Servants* (London: William Cooke, 1635)
- *The Traitor: A Tragedy, with alterations, amendments and additions / written by Mr. Rivers.* (London: Printed for Richard Parker and Sam. Briscoe, 1692).
- *The Traitor*, ed. by John Stewart Carter (London: Edward Arnold, 1965)
- *The Wedding As it was lately acted by her Majesties Servants, at the Phenix in Drury Lane.* (London: Printed for John Grove, 1629)
- *The Wedding As it was lately acted by her Majesties Servants, at the Phenix in Drury-Lane* (London: Printed John Grove, 1633).
- *The Wedding, A Critical Edition*, edited by Sister Martin Favin (New York: Garland Publishing, 1980)
- *The Witty Fair One* (London: printed for W. Cooke, 1633)
- Singer, Samuel Weller, *The Text of Shakespeare Vindicated from the interpolations and corruptions advocated by John Payne Collier, Esq., in his notes and emendations* (London: William Pickering, 1853)
- Slaney, Helen, 'Restoration Seneca and Nathaniel Lee', *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature*, 40.1 (2013), 52-70
- Sluijter, Eric Jan, 'Emulating Sensual Beauty: Representations of Danae from Gossaert to Rembrandt', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 27 (1999), 4-45.

- Solomon, Diana, *Prologues and Epilogues of Restoration Theater: Gender and Comedy* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2013)
- Sorelius, Gunnar, *The Giant Race Before the Flood* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksells, 1966)
- Southern, Richard, *Changeable Scenery* (London: Faber and Faber, 1952)
- ‘The Scene Plot of *The Change of Crownes*’, *Theatre Notebook*, 4.3 (1950), 65-68
- Spencer, Christopher, ed., *Five Restoration Adaptations* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1965)
- Spencer, Hazelton, *Shakespeare Improved. The Restoration Versions in Quarto and on the Stage* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1927, 1963)
- ‘The Restoration Play Lists’, *Review of English Studies* 1.4 (1925), 443-6
- Spinrad, Phoebe S., ‘James Shirley: Decadent or Realist?’, *English Language Notes*, 25 (1988), 24-32
- Stern, Tiffany, *Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000)
- Stevens, David, ‘The Stagecraft of James Shirley’, *Educational Theatre Journal*, 29 (1977), 493-516
- Stevenson, Alan H., ‘Shirley’s Publishers: The Partnership Of Crooke And Cooke’, *Library*, s4-XXV.3-4 (1944), 140-61
- ‘The Case of the Decapitated Cast or The Night-walker at Smock Alley’, *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 6.3 (1955), 275-96
- Stiefel, A. L., ‘Die Nachahmung Spanischer komödien in England unter den ersten Stuarts’, *Romanische Forschungen*, 5 (1890), 193-220
- Stoye, J. W., ‘The Whereabouts of Thomas Killigrew, 1639-41’, *Review of English Studies*, 25 (1949), 245-48
- Stradling, R. A., ‘Spanish conspiracy in England, 1661-1663’, *English Historical Review*, 87 (1972), 269-86

- Symington, Rodney, *The Nazi Appropriation of Shakespeare. Cultural Politics in the Third Reich* (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 2005)
- Tatham, John, *The Rump or, The Mirrour of the Late Times, A New Comedy*, (London: Printed for R. Bloom, 1661)
- *The Dramatic Works of Tatham*, edited by J. Maidment and W. H. Logan (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1967)
- Taylor, Gary, *Reinventing Shakespeare: A Cultural History, from the Restoration to the Present* (New York: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1989)
- Thomas, David, ed., *Theatre in Europe: A Documentary History: Restoration and Georgian England, 1660-1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)
- Tuke, Samuel, *The Adventures of Five Hours* (London: Printed by T. N. for Henry Herringman, 1663)
- Turner, Henry S., *The English Renaissance Stage: Geometry, Poetics, and the Practical Spatial Arts, 1580-1630* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)
- Van Lennep, William, *The London Stage 1660-1800, Part 1: 1660-1700* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1965)
- ‘Henry Harris, Actor, Friend of Pepys’, *Studies in English Theatre History: In memory of Gabrielle Enthover, O.B.E., first president of the Society for Theatre Research, 1948-1950* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1952), pp. 9-23
- ‘Plays on the English Stage, 1669-1672’, *Theatre Notebook*, XVI (1961), 12-20
- ‘Thomas Killigrew Prepares his plays for Production’, in *John Quincy Adams Memorial Studies*, ed. By James G. McManaway, Giles E. Dawson and Edwin E. Willoughby (Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1948), pp. 803-08
- Vander Motten, J. P., An Annotated Copy of Sir William Killigrew’s *The Seege of Urbin (1666)*, *ANQ*, 25.4 (2012), 195-201

- ‘Another Annotated Copy of Sir William Killigrew’s *Four New Playes* (1666)’, *Library* s6-8.1 (1986), 53-58
- ‘*Sir William Killigrew (1616-1695): His Life and Dramatic Works* (Gent: Faculteit van de Letteren en Wijsbegeerte, 1980)
- ‘Sir William Killigrew’s Unpublished Revisions of *The Seege of Urbin*’, *Library*, s6-V(2) (1983): 159-65
- and Katrien Daemen-de Gelder, ‘New Evidence about the Restoration Scene Keeper James Triggs’, *Theatre Notebook*, 59.1 (2005), 19-22
- Veevers, Erica, *Images of Love and Religion: Queen Henrietta Maria and Court Entertainment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)
- Visser, Colin, ‘The Killigrew Folio: Private Playhouses and the Restoration Stage’, *Theatre Survey*, 19.2 (1978), 119-38
- Walden, Richard, *Io Ruminans: or The Repercussion of a Triumph Celebrated in the Palace of Diana Ardenna. By the rustick muse of R.W. Proicho-philomazix* (London: 1661/2)
- Wanko, Cheryl, ‘Marshall, Rebecca (fl. 1660–1683)’, *ODNB* (Oxford University Press, 2004)
- Ward, Adolphus William, *A History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne*, (London: MacMillan & Co, 1875), pp. 310-11
- and A. R. Waller, eds, *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature*, Volume VIII. The Age of Dryden (1907–21) (New York: Bartleby.com, 2000)
- Werstine, Paul, *Early Modern Playhouse Manuscripts and the Editing of Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012)
- Werthem, Albert, ‘Production notes for three plays by Thomas Killigrew’, *Theatre Survey*, 10 (1969), 105-13
- West, Philip, ‘Editing James Shirley’s poems’, *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 52:1 (2012), 101-16
- Williams, Justine, *The Irish Plays of James Shirley 1636-1640*, Thesis, University of Warwick, 2010

- Wilson, John Howard, *All the King's Ladies: Actresses of the Restoration* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1974)
- Wiseman, Susan, *Drama and Politics in the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)
- ‘Pamphlet Plays in the Civil War News Market: Genre, Politics, and “Context”’, *Prose Studies: History, Theory, Criticism*, 21.2 (1998), 66-83
< <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01440359808586639> >
- Wood, Anthony, *Athenae Oxonienses: An Exact History of All the Writers and Bishops who Have Had Their Education in the University of Oxford. To which are Added the Fasti, Or Annals of the Said University*, 4 vols (London: F. C. & J. Rivington, 1813)
- Wright, James, *Historia Histrionica: An Historical Account of the English-Stage, Shewing the Ancient Use, Improvement, and Perfection of Dramatick Representations in this Nation. In a dialogue of Plays and Players* (London, Printed by G. Groom, for William Harris, 1699)
- Wright, Stephen, ‘Speed, Samuel (bap. 1633, d. 1679?)’, *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004
- Wynne, S. M., ‘Palmer, Barbara, countess of Castlemaine and duchess of Cleveland (bap. 1640, d. 1709)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008)
<www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28285> [accessed 6 October 2016]
- Yearling, E. M. (ed.), *The Cardinal* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986)
- Young, Michael B., ‘Coke, Sir John (1563–1644)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2016)
- Zimmer, Ruth, *James Shirley: A Reference Guide* (Boston, MA: G. K. Hall, 1980)